00110816

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 28 September, 2015

ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

OR

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

B. 2801.
110816
QC.

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A.

DEAN AND RECTOR OF BOCKING, AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON,

NO. 62, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1810.

God
274.2.
W08/EC
110816

Printed by Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

PAGE

BISHOP LATIMER; compiled from Fox's *Acts and Monuments* - - - - - - - - - - - - -

BISHOP RIDLEY; from the same, and from the *Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley*, by the Rev. Glocester Ridley, LL. B. 1763. 4to. - - - - - - - 293

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER; from Fox's *Acts*, &c. - 429

110816

ERRATA IN VOL. III.

Page 53, l. 4, *for* to yes, *read* toyes.
—— 61, l. 10, *for* likewises, *read* likewise.
—— 63, l. 7 from bot. *for* degree, *read* decree.
—— 64, l. 14, *for* ast he, *read* as the.
—— 113, l. 27, *for* gustices, *read* justices.
—— 158, last l. *for* ano, *read* two.
—— 160, l. 27, *for* immortalie, *read* immortalitie.
—— 175, last l. *for* we, *read* are.
—— 185, l. 8, *for* you, *read* your.
—— 205, l. 23, *for* but, *read* by.
—— 214, l. 6, *for* presented, *read* pretensed.
—— 328, l. 17, *dele* the former *be*.
—— 412, l. 23, *for* by, *read* be.
—— 549, l. 15, *for* Saith, *read* Saint.

00110816

BISHOP LATIMER.

BISHOP LATIMER.

HUGH LATIMER was the sonne of one Hugh Latimer of Thurcaston in the countie of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation[1]; with whom also he was brought up, until he was of the age

[1] *Right good estimation.*] In his first sermon before king Edward, preached in the year 1549, Latimer gives the following pleasing description of his father and family.

"My father was a yeoman, and had no landes of his own, onely he had a farme of three or four pounds by yeare at the uttermost; and hereupon he tilled so muche as kept half a dozen men. He had walke for an hundred sheepe, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did finde the king an harneſs, with himselfe and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the kinges wages. I can remember that I buckled his harneſs, when he went to Blackheath fielde (A. D. 1497.) He kept me to schole, or else I had not been able to have preached before the kinges majesty now. He maryed my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles a piece, so that he brought them up in godliness, and feare of God. He kept hospitality for his poore neighbours; and some almes he gave to the poore: and all this did he of the said farme. Whereas, he that now hath it payeth fixteen pounds by the yeare or more, and is not able to doe anye thing for his prince, for himselfe, nor for his children, or give a cup of drinke to the poore." Fol. 32. edit. 1584. In another sermon (the sixth) preached likewise before the king, we have some further circumstances communicated respecting his early years. "Men of Englande in times past, when they would exercise themselves, (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodyes cannot endure without some exercise) they were wont to goe abroad in the fields of shooting. The art of shooting hath been in times past muche esteemed in this realme: it is a gift of God that he hath given us to excell all other nations withall. It hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us manye victoryes agaynst our ene-

both his oration made when hee proceeded bachelour of divinitie, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other workes did plainely declare. But especiallie his popish zeale could in no case abide in those daies good master Stafford, reader of the divinitie lectures in Cambridge, most spitefully railing against [4] him, and willing the youth of Cambridge, in no wise to beleeve him.

[4] *Railing against him.*] "It pleased Almighty God," (says Morice, secretary to archbishop Cranmer) "to call Hugh Latymer unto the knowlege of the truth of God's holy word, by the godly lecture of divinity read by Mr. George Stafford, in the University school of Cambridge; and of a Saul made him a very Paul. For otherwise, all the days of his life, he had bestowed his time in the labyrinth study of the school doctors, as in Duns, Dorbel, Thomas of Acquine, Hugo de Victore with such like. Insomuch that being mightily affected that way, he of purpose, perceiving the youth of the university inclined to the reading of the Scriptures, leaving off those tedious authors, used that kind of study, being a batchelor of divinity, and for his gravity and years preferred to the keeping of the university cross, which no man had to do withal, but such an one as in sanctimony of life excelled other, came into the Sopham school, among the youth, there gathered together of daily custom to keep their sophams and disputations; and there most eloquently made to them an oration, dissuading them from this new-fangled kind of study of the Scriptures; and vehemently persuaded them to the study of the school authors. Which he did, not long before that he was so mercifully called to the contrary. And as he felt by this his divine vocation, that all his other study little profited him, but was rather a stumbling block unto him, then intending to preach to the world the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so he mightily, tracting no time, preached daily in the university of Cambridge, both in English, and *ad Clerum*, to the great admiration of all men, that aforetime had known him of a contrary severe opinion." *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. iii. p. [233]. "Master Latimer being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schooles when master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to heare him; and also preaching against him, exhorted the people, not to beleeve him: and yet the said Latimer confessed himselfe, that he gave thankes to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed." Fox's *Acts*, p. 524.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding, such was the goodnesse and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professours of the Gospel, and true church of Christ, he was at length himselfe by a member of the same, pretily caught in the blessed net of Gods word. For M. Thomas Bilney (whose storie is before described) being at that time a trier out of sathans subtleties, and a secret overthrower of Antichristes kingdome, seeing maister Latimer to have a zeale in his waies (although without knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pitie towardes him, and bethought by what meanes hee might best winne this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to M. Latymers study, and desired him to heare him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted: by hearing whereof, he was (through the good spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the schoole doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinitie; as he himselfe, as well in his conference with M. Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the pater noster, doth confesse. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his olde manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kinde of conferring, both with maister Bilney and others, and came also to Maister Stafford before hee died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, hee was not satified with his own conversion only, but like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritane, pitied the misery of others; and therefore became both a publike preacher, and also a private instructer to the

the rest of his brethren within the universitie, by the space of three yeares, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his naturall and vulgar language.

Howbeit, as satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdome to begin to decay, so likewise now seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious impes to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine frier, who tooke occasion upon certaine sermons that maister Latymer made about Christenmas 1529, as well in the church of S. Edward, as also in S. Augustines, within the universitie of Cambridge, to invey against him, for that M. Latymer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cardes out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of S. Mathew, wherupon they might, not onely then, but alwaies els occupy their time. For the chiefe *triumph* in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withall: whereby hee quite overthrew all hypocriticall and externall ceremonies, not tending to the necessarie furtherance of Gods holy worde and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English[5], whereby the common people might the

[5] *Scriptures to be in English.*] If this topic formed a part of these sermons, which I do not see that it does, in so much of them as is preserved by Fox, p. 1571, 1574; and p. 1939, 1940, I apprehend we must be obliged to assign to them a date subsequent to the year 1529. For so late as May 24, 1530, Latimer was one of a numerous assembly of divines and others, who, after condemning several works of Tindall, &c. joined in declaring "that the having of the holie Scripture in Englishe is not necessarye to christen men," and that "the kings

the better learne their duties, aswell to God, as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not onely it declared a singular towardnesse of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christenmasse day: on which day comming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, hee entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the wordes of the Gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day: *Tu quis es*, &c. In delivering the which cards [6] (as is abovesaid) he made the heart to be *triumph*, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praise of that *triumph*, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best *coate card* beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs; meaning therby, how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of the heart and veritie, wherein con-

kings highness and the prelats do well in not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicated in the English tonge." See Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 736.

[6] *Which cards.*] "This blunt preaching," (says Fuller, in his History of the University of Cambridge) "was in those dark daies admirably effectual, which would justly be ridiculous in our age. I remember in my time a country minister preached at St. Maries; his text, Rom. xii. 3. "As God hath *dealt* to every man the measure of faith." In a fond imitation of Latimer's card-sermon, he prosecuted the metaphor of *dealing*; that men should *play above board*, that is, avoid all dissembling; not *pocket cards*, but improve their gifts and graces; *follow suit*, wear the surplice, and conform in ceremonies, &c. All produced nothing but laughter in the audience." P. 103.

sisteth

sisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistering shew of mans traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vowes, devotions, voluntarie workes, and workes of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the popes supreamacie, &c. so that all these either were needlesse, where the other is present; or els were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

It would aske a long discourse to declare what a stirre there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of M. Latimer. Belike sathan began to feele himselfe and his kingdome to be touched too neare, and therefore thought it time to looke about him, and to make out his men of armes.

First, came out the prior of the blacke friers called Buckenham, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against M. Latimer, about the same time of Christenmas, when M. Latimer brought forth his cardes, to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christenmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quater*: meaning by the *cinque* five places in the New Testament, and the foure doctors by the *quater*, by which his *cinque quater*, hee would proove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, least the ignorant and vulgar sort thorough the occasion thereof, might happilie be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to runne into some inconvenience: as for example:

The plowman when he heareth this in the Gospell: *No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is meete for the kingdome of God*, might peradventure hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker when he heareth that *a little leaven corrupteth a whole*

... of dowe, may percase leave our bread unle- ... d, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. ... the simple man when he heareth in the gospel: *If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee*, maie make himselfe blinde, and so fill the world full of beggers. These with other mo this clarklie frier brought out, to the number of five, to proove his purpose.

M. Latimer hearing this frierlie sermon of Doctor Buckneham, commeth againe the afternoone, or shortlie after to the church, to answere the frier; where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the universitie, as of the towne, both doctours and other graduates, with greate expectation to heare what he could say: among whom also, directlie in the face of Latimer underneath the pulpit, sate Buckneham the foresaid frier, prior of the black friers, with his blacke friers coule about his shoulders.

Then master Latimer first repeating the frierlie reasons of doctour Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people, to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the frier, so answered to his objections, so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his breade unleavened, that the vanitie of the frier might to all men appeare; wel proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such feare nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the frier pretended: at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till English men were so mad, that neither ploughman durst looke backe, and the baker wold leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon he began to discourse of the mysticall speeches, and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which

which phrases he saide were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonlie used and knowne; and not onelie in the Hebrew tongue, but also everie speech (saieth he) hath his metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very Painters doe painte them on walles and on houses.

"As for example," (saith he) looking towards the frier that sate over against him, "when they paint a fox preaching out of a friers coule, none is so mad to take this to be a foxe that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisie, craft and subtile dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friers coules, willing us thereby to beware of them." In fine, frier Buckneham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after durst he peep out of the pulpit against M. Latimer.

Besides this Buckneham, there was also another rayling frier, not of the same coate, but of the same note and faction, a gray frier and a doctour, an outlandishman called doctour Venetus, who likewise in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainlesse man, and willing the people not to beleeve him. To whom master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Matth. the fifth, *Thou shalt not kill*, &c. *But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgement; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Racha* (or any other like wordes of rebuking, *as brainelessee) shall be in danger of councel: And whosoever shall say to his neighbour, foole, shall bee in danger of hell fire.*

In

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with hart, the third with word. With hand when wee use anie weapon drawne, to spill the life of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we disdainefullie rebuke our neighbour, or dispitefullie revile him. Words of rebuking are when we speak any opprobrious and unseemelie thing, whereby the patience of our neighbor is mooved, as when we call him *mad* (said hee) or *brainelesse*, or such like, which are guiltie of Counsaile. Words of spite or reviling, are, when we call him *foole:* which Christ saith is guiltie of hell fire.

Thus M. Latimer in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christes wordes, and the explaning of the same, hee had sufficientlie borne the frier cleane downe, then he turned to the fift chapter of the booke of Wisdom. Out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this worlde commonlie are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of Gods word, which count them here as mad men, fooles, brainelesse, and drunken: so did they (said hee) in the Scripture call them which most purelie preached, and set forth the glory of Gods word. But (said hee) what will be end of these jollie fellows, or what will they say in the end? *Nos insensati, nos insensati*, &c. *We madde men, wee madde fooles, we, we, our selves*, &c. And that will be their end, except they repent. And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poore frier, that he drave him not onlie out of countenance, but also cleane out of the universitie.

But

But what should I heere stand deciphring the names of his adversaries, when whole swarmes of friers and doctors flockt against him on everie side, almost through the whole universitie, preaching likewise and barking against him. Amongst whom was Doctor Watson master of Christs colledge, whose schollar Latimer had been afore. Doctor Notaries master of Clarehall, Doctor Philo master of Michael House, Doctour Metecalfe, master of Saint Johns, Doctor Blithe of the Kings Hall, Doctour Bullocke master of the Queenes Colledge, Doctor Cliffe of Clement House, Doctor Donnes of Jesus Colledge, Doctor Palmes master of Saint Nicholas Hostel; Bain, Rud, and Greenewood Bachelor of Divinity, all three of S. Johns College. Also Brikenden Bachelor of Divinitie of the same house, and scholler sometimes to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugners did this worthy standerdbearer of Christs Gospell sustaine.

Then came at last Doctor West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him within the churches of that universitie to preache anie more. Notwithstanding so the Lord provided that Doctor Barnes Prior of the Augustine friers, did licence [7] master Latimer to preache in his church of the Augustines, and hee himselfe preached at the church by, called S. Edwards church.

This M. Latimer (as you have heard) being bayted by the friers, doctors, and masters of that universitie, about the yeare aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding and maugre the malice of these ma-

[7] *Did licence,*] His priory, like most other religious houses, being exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Bishop West died April 28, 1533. Le Neve's *Fasti*. p. 70.

lignant

lignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge [8] preaching the space of three yeares together, with such favor and applause of the godlie, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himselfe [9] coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himselfe to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same.

So M. Latimer with M. Bilney, after this continued yet in Cambridge a certaine space; where hee with the saide Bilney used much to conferre and companie together, insomuch that the place where

Continued yet in Cambridge.] For a general description of the character and subjects of his preaching at this period, see Becon's *Jewel of Joy*. Works, vol. ii. fol. 9, 10, and Turner's *Preservative against the poison of Pelagius*. A. D. 1551, Dedication to Latimer. Comp. *Strype*'s Cranmer, p. 369. It became soon after a common saying, which continued to prevail in the reign of king Edward, that, "When Master Stafforde read, and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambryge blessed." Becon. fol. 10.

9 *The bishop himselfe.*] "West, then bishop of Ely" (as we are told by Morice, archbishop Cranmer's secretary) "hearing of Mr. Latimer's conversion, determined with himself to come and hear him preach, but that it should be suddain and withouten any intelligence to be given to Latymer. And so it came to pass, that on a time when Mr. Latymer had prepared to preach in the university a sermon *ad Clerum*, in Latin, the bishop hearing thereof, came secretly and suddainly from Ely, and entered into the university church, accompanied with certain men of worship (Latimer then being well entered into his sermon): whose approach being honourable, Latymer gave place, and surceased from further speaking, until the bishop and his retinue were quietly placed. That done, after a good pause, Latymer beginneth to speak to his auditory, after this sort: "It is of congruence meet," (quoth he), "that a new auditory namely being more honorable, requireth a new theme, being a new argument to intreat of. Therefore, it behoveth me now to divert from mine intended purpose, and somewhat to intreat of the honourable estate of a bishop. Therefore, let this be the theme, quoth he, *Christus existens pontifex futurorum bonorum*, &c." This text he so fruitfully

where they most used to walke in the fieldes, was called long after, the heretikes Hill [1].

The societie of these two, as it was much noted of many in that universitie, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in releev-

fruitfully handled, expounding every word, and setting forth the office of Christ so sincerely, as the true and perfect pattern unto all other bishops, that should succede him in his church, that the bishop then present might well think of himself that he, nor none of his fellows, were of that race of bishops, which Christ meant to have succede in his church after him; but rather of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas.

This notwithstanding, the bishop, being a very wise and politique worldly man, after the sermon finished, called to him Mr. Latimer, and said, "Mr. Latimer, I heartily thank you for your good sermon, assuring you, that if you will do one thing at my request, I will kneel down and kiss your foot, for the good admonition that I have received of your sermon; assuring you, that I never heard mine office so well and substantially declared, before this time." "What is youre Lordships pleasure that I should do for you," quoth Mr. Latimer? "Mary," quoth the bishop, "that you will preach me in this place one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine." Said then Mr. Latymer again, "My Lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we permitted here to read his works. And therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinions he holdeth. Sure I am," quoth Latymer, "that I have preached before you this day no *mans* doctrine, but only the doctrine of God out of the Scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand he doth teach against the Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine, as much as lieth in me." "Well, well, Mr. Latymer, I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan. You will repent this gear one day." And so the bishop, never a whit amended by the sermon, practised with Mr. Latymer's foes from that day forwards to put him to silence. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. [233.]

[1] *Heretikes Hill.*] "My enquiry can discover no footsteps thereof, on which side of the town it lay." Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 103.

ing

ing the needie, in feeding the hungrey; whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the historie of Master Bilney.

In a place of his sermons, M. Latimer maketh mention of a certaine history which hapned about this time in Cambridge betweene them two, and a certaine woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thoght here not unworthy to be remembered. The historie is this: It so chanced that after M. Latimer had beene so acquainted with the foresaide Master Bilney, he went with him to visite the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge; and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own childe, which act she plainlie and stedfastlie denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all meanes he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A childe of hers had beene sicke a whole yeare, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption. Which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the buriall, but all were in harvest abroad: whereby she was enforced with heavinesse of heart, alone to prepare the childe to the buriall. Her husband comming home, and not loving her, accused her of murthering the childe. This was the cause of her trouble, and Master Latimer by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guiltie. Then immediately after, was he called to preach before King Henrie the eight, at Windsore: where after his sermon the kings majestie sent for him, and talked with him familiarlie. At which time M. Latimer finding opportunity, kneeled downe, opened this whole matter to the king, and

begged her pardon, which the kinge most graciouslie granted, and gave it him at his returne homeward. In the meane time the woman was delivered of a childe in the prison, whose godfather was M. Latimer, mistris Cheeke Godmother. But all that while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her tell the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and Master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her: unto whome shee made great lamentation and mone, to be purified before her suffring, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Then Master Bilney being with Master Latimer, both told her that that lawe was made to the Jewes, and not to us, and how women bee as well in the favour of God before they bee purified, as after: and rather it was appointed for a civill and politike law, for naturall honestie sake, than that they should anie thing the more be purified from sinne thereby. So thus they travelled with this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade, and then at length shewed her the kings pardon, and let her goe.

This good act among manie other at this time hapned in Cambridge by M. Latimer, and M. Bilney. But this was not alone, for many moe like matters were wrought by them, if all were knowne, whereof partlie some are touched before, such especially as concerne Master Bilney.

But as it is commonlie seene in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withall; in much like sort it hapned with Master Latimer, whose towardnessse the more it beganne to spring, his vertues to be seene, and his doings to be knowne, the more his adversaries began to spurne and kin-

dle against him [2]. Concerning these adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Doctor Redman, a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeale of the Pharisies, yet not so malignant or harmefull, but of a civill and quiet disposition, and also so liberall in well doing that few poore schollers were in that universitie, which

[2] *Kindle against him.*] The following anecdote, which is told incidentally by bishop Bonner, in the process of the examinations of the martyr Philpot, is characteristic of the kind of humour in which Latimer was fond of indulging himself; and belongs to this period. "The varlet Latimer at Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor sent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for some of his heresies), and was coming to his chamber, he hearing that the chancellour was coming, made answere that he *was sicke of the plague*, and so deluded the chancellour." Fox *Acts*, p. 1655. Latimer, no doubt, meant that he was sick of the plague of *heresy*.

I shall avail myself of this place to insert a story which he tells of himself, in one of his sermons, which is characteristic of the ignorance and superstition of the times. It probably belongs to a date a little earlier than the preceding. He is remonstrating against the belief, still remaining among many, even amid the light of the preaching of the Gospel, of the efficacy of holy water, holy bells, wax tapers, &c. against the agency of evil spirits. "I was once called to one of my kins-folke. It was at that tyme when I had taken degree at Cambridge, and was made Maister of Art. I was called, I say, to one of my kins-folke, which was very sicke, and dyed immediately after my commyng. Now there was an old cousin of myne, whiche after the man was dead, gave me a waxe candle in my hand, and commanded me to make certain crosses over him that was dead: for she thought the devill should runne away by and by. Now, I tooke the candle, but I could not crosse him as she would have me to doe; for I had never seen it afore. Now she perceiving that I could not do it, withe a great anger tooke the candle out of my hand, saying, *It is pitie that thy father spendeth so much money upon thee.* And so she tooke the candle, and crossed and blessed him; so that he was sure inough. No doubt she thought that the devill would have no power against him." Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 198. Edit. 1584.

fared not better by his purse. This Doctor Redman being of no little authoritie in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of Master Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the Gospel, at this time or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by perswasion to revoke the saide Latimer from that kinde and maner of teaching: to whom Master Latimer maketh answere againe in few words. The summe and effect of both their letters translated out of Latine, heere follow to be seene.

The Summe of the Epistle written by Doctor Redman to M. Latimer.

"Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesu. I beseech you heartilie, and require most earnestly, even for charities sake that you will not stand in your own conceit with a minde so indurate, nor preferre your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men, and that more is, before the whole catholike church, especially considering that you neither have anie thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of ani authenticall writer. Nay, nay: I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which dooth sometime transforme it selfe into an angell of light.

"Judge not so rashlie of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the eare. Wit you wel that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to bee saved, and that we are carefull also for our owne salvation. Lay downe your stomacke I pray you, and humble your spirit; and suffer not the church to take offence with the hardnesse of your heart,

heart, nor that her unitie and Christes coat without seame (as much as lyeth in you) should be torne asunder. Consider what the saying of the wiseman is, and be obedient thereunto: *Trust not in your owne wisdome.* The Lord Jesus Christ, &c."

The Summe of M. Latimer's Answere to Doctor Redman.

"Reverend M. Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christs sheepe heare no mans voice but Christs: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me; where as for my part, I have a heart that is readie to hearken to anie voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you wel, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."

After M. Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the universitie of Cambridge, about the space of three yeares, at length he was called up to the Cardinall for heresie, by the procurement of certain of the said Universitie, where he was content to subscribe [1] and grant to such articles, as then they propounded unto him.

After

[1] *Content to subscribe.*] I am not apprized of any other authority in confirmation of this alleged submission of Latimer. It is certain that Morice, afterwards secretary to Cranmer, and about this time a friend and favourer of Latimer, gives an account of the result of this citation, which is much more favourable to the memory of Wolsey. Fox's mistake, if it be such, may have arisen from his mixing together, and confounding the history of Latimer's summons before the Cardinal with his troubles, a few years afterwards, in convocation (A. D. 1531-2.)—Morice's narrative will, I hope, be not unacceptable to my readers.

"Grievous complaint was made of Latimer by divers papists of the university, whereupon the Cardinal sent for him to York Place. And there, attending upon the Cardinal's pleasure,

After that, he returned to the universitie again, where shortly after, by the meanes of Doctor Buts, the kings physition, a singular good man, and a speciall

pleasure, he was called before him into his inner chamber, by the sound of a little bell, which the Cardinal used to ring, when any person should come or approach unto him. When Mr. Latymer was before hym, he well advised him, and said, "Is your name Latymer?" "Yea, forsooth," quoth Latymer. "You seem," quoth the Cardinal, "that you are of good years, nor no babe, but one that should wisely and soberly use yourself in all your doings. And yet it is reported to me of you, that you are much infected with this new fantastical doctrine of Luther, and such like heretics; and that you do very much harm among the youth, and other light heads, with your doctrine." Said Mr. Latymer again, "Your Grace is misinformed: for I ought to have some more knowledge, than to be so simply reported of; by reason that I have studied, in my time, both of the ancient doctors of the church, and also of the school doctors." "Marie, that is well said," quoth the Cardinal; "I am glad to hear that of you. And therefore, quoth the Cardinal, you Mr. Doctor Capon, and you Mr. Doctor Marshall," (both being there present) "say you somewhat to Mr. Latymer touching some question in Duns." Whereupon Dr. Capon propounded a question to Mr. Latymer. Mr. Latymer, being fresh then of memory, and not discontinued from study, as those two doctors had been, answered very roundly; somewhile helping them to cite their own allegations rightly, where they had not perfectly nor truly alleged them.

The Cardinal, perceiving the ripe and ready answering of Latimer, said, "What mean you, my masters, to bring such a man before me into accusation? I had thought that he had been some light-headed fellow, that never studied such kind of doctrine, as the school-authors are. I pray thee, Latymer, tell me the cause, why the bishop of Ely and other do mislike thy preachings. Tell me the truth, and I will bear with thee, upon amendment." Quoth Latymer, "your Grace must understand, that the bishop of Ely cannot favour me, for that not long ago I preached before him in Cambrigde a sermon of this text, *Christus existens pontifex*, &c. wherein I described the office of a bishop so uprightly as I might, according to the text, that never after he could abide me; but hath not only forbidden me to preach in his diocese, but also found the

means

speciall favorer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which labored in the cause of the kinges supremacy.

Here followeth a letter of M. Latimer, written to K. Henry the eighth, upon this occasion. Two sundry proclamations were set out by the bishops in the time of K. Henry. In the which proclamations * being authorised by the kings

means to inhibit me from preaching in the university." "I pray you tell me," quoth the Cardinall "what time didst thou preach before him from that text." Mr. Latymer plainly and simply (committing his cause unto Almighty God, who is the director of princes hearts) declared unto the Cardinal the whole effect of his sermon preached before the bishop of Ely. The Cardinal, nothing at all mishking the doctrine of the word of God, that Latymer had preached, said unto him, "Did you not preach any other doctrine than you have rehearsed?" "No surely," said Latymer. And examining throughly with the doctors, what else would be objected against him, the Cardinal said unto Mr. Latimer, "If the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine, as you have here repeated, you shall have *my* licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." And thereupon, after a gentle monition given unto Mr. Latimer, the Cardinal discharged him with his licence home to preach throughout England. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. [234.]

* *Which proclamations.*] See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 737, 738; and page 740—742. The latter of these proclamations came forth soon after May in the year 1530, being founded upon the proceedings of the convention of bishops and learned men in that month, which condemned Tyndal's translations from the Scripture, together with several tracts by him and other advocates of the reformation. Of this convention Latimer himself was one. The conclusions then agreed upon, are affirmed by the king's proclamation, to have been "with great leisure and long deliberation by *all* their free assents, consents, and arguments concluded, resolved, and determined." And that, "by them *all* it is thought, that it is not necessary the said Scripture to be in the English tongue," &c. Wilkins, p. 740, 741. If these assertions be to be understood as strictly true, the change in Latimer's sentiments upon this last subject must have taken place between May and December 1, 1530, the date of this letter to the king.

name,

name, were inhibited all English books either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Now M. Latimer growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christs religion by reason of these proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeale of conscience, directeth unto king Henry this letter hereunder ensuing, thereby intending by all meanes possible to persuade the kings mind to set open again the freedome of Gods holy word amongst his subjects. The copy and tenor of his letter heere followeth.

The Letter of Master Latimer written to King Henry for the restoring again of the free Libertie of reading the holy Scriptures.

To the most mightie Prince King of England, Henrie the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The holy doctour Saint Augustine in an epistle which hee wrote to Casulanus, sayth, that hee which for feare of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man Saint John Chrysostome saith; that he is not alonely a traytour to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie, but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shewe the truth that hee knoweth. These sentences (most redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine hart, they made me sore afrayd, troubled and vexed mee grievously in my conscience, and at the last drave me to this streyt, that either

either I must shewe forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or els to bee of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traytors unto the trueth: the which thing than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreame punishment.

" For what other thing is it to be a traytour unto the trueth, than to be a traytour and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth and cause of all truth? the which saieth, *that whosoever denyeth him heere before men, he will deny him before his father in heaven.* The which denying ought more to bee feared and dread. then the losse of all temporall goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishmentes, and all manner of torments, and cruelties, yea, and death it selfe, be it never so shamefull and painefull. But alas, how little doe men regard those sharpe sayings of these two holy men? and how little do they feare the terrible judgement of Almighty God? and speciallie they which boast themselves to be guides and captaines unto other, and chalenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither shewe the trueth themselves (as they be bound) neither suffer them that would: So that unto them may be sayd that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisies, (Math. 23.) *Wo bee it unto you Scribes and Pharisies, which shut up the kingdome of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in your selves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in.* And they will as much as in them lyeth, debarre, not onely the worde of God, which David calleth *a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lustes*, according to the Commaundementes of God; but also by their subtle wylinesse they instruct, moove, and provoke, in a manner

manner, all kings in Christendome, to ayde, succour, and helpe them in this their mischiefe: and especially in this your realme, they have sore blinded your liege people, and subjectes with their lawes, customes, ceremonies, and Banbery gloses, and punished them with cursinges, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say) and now at the last when they see that they cannot prevayle against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more increaseth [5] by their tyrannie) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

"Heere I beseech your Grace to pardon me awhile, and patiently to heare me a word or two: yea and though it bee so that as concerning your high majesty and regall power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference betweene you and me, as betweene God and man. For you be heere to me and to all your subjects in Gods stead, to defend, aide, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speake to your Grace. But againe, as concerning that you bee a mortall man, in daunger of sinne, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and borne, so have you no lesse neede of the merites of Christes passion for your saivation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mysticall body of Christ. And though you be an higher member,

[5] *The more increaseth.*] Nix bishop of Norwich, in a letter written in the month of May this year (1530), to Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, complains of some who boasted that they would "dy in the quarrel, that their opinions be true; and trusted, by Michaelmas day, there *shall be more that shall beleve* of *their opinion*, than they that believeth the contrary." Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 15. Append. x.

yet

yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as Saint Paul sayeth: *Those members that be taken most vilest and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body.* This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithfull minde, even as it is.

"First, and before all thinges, I will exhort your Grace to marke the life and processe of our Saviour Christ and his apostles in preaching and setting forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our Maister Christ, which he had to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospell; and to these have ever in your minde the golden rule of our Maister Christ; *The tree is knowne by the fruite.* For by the diligent marking of these, your Grace shall clearily knowe and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not.

"And concerning the first; all Scripture sheweth plainely that our Saviour Jesus Christes life was very poore. Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer or so poor as hee was? It were too long to write how poore Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Lethlem, in the colde and frostie winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistres and maide. How vilely thinks your Grace, were they intreated in the innes and lodgings by the waie? and in how vile and abject place was this poore maide, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed in, without companie, light, or anie other thing necessarie for a woman in that plight? Was not here a poore beginning, as concerning

cerning the world? Yes truelie. And according to this beginning was the processe and end of his life in this world; and yet he might by his godlie power have had al the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

"But this hee did to shewe us that his followers and vicars should not regard nor set by the riches and treasures of this world; but after the saying of David wee ought to take them, which saith thus: *If riches, promotions, and dignitie happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them.* So that it is not against the povertie in spirite which Christ praiseth in the gospel of Saint Matthew, chapter 5. to be rich, to be in dignitie, and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they bee enemies to this povertie in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedie and desirous mindes to the goods of this world, onely because they would live after their own pleasure and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they saie, wilfull povertie, and will not bee called worldly men, and they have lords lands, and kings riches; yea rather than they would lose one jote of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realme and realme, yea between the king and his subjectes, and cause rebellion against the temporall power to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed and paied tribute, as the gospell declareth: unto whom the holy apostle S. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey. Yea and beside all this, they wil curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainesaie their appetite, whereby they thinke their goods, promotions, or dignities should decaie.

"Your Grace maie see what meanes and craft the

the spiritualtie (as they will bee called) imagine to breake and withstand the acts which were made[5] in your graces last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus doe, your Grace maie know them not to bee true followers of Christ. And although I named the spiritualty to be corrupt with this unthriftie ambition: yet I meane not all to be faultie therein, for there bee some good of them. Neither will I that your Grace should take awaie the goods due to the church, but take awaie all evill persons from the goods, and set better in their stead. I name nor appoint no person, nor persons, but remit your grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Mathew the 7th chapter: *by their fruites ye shall know them.*

"As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospell, they be read in Matthew the 15th chapter, where he sheweth, *that here they shall bee hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kinges and rulers; and that all evill should be said by them, for their preaching sake;* but he exhorteth them to take patientlie such persecution by his own example, saying, *It becommeth not the servant to be above the maister. And seeing they called me Belzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you divelish persons and heretickes?* Read the 14th chapter of St. Mathews gospell, and there your Grace shall see that hee promised to the true preachers no worldlie promotions or dignitie, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that

[5] *Acts which were made.*] These were against exactions for probates of wills; for regulating mortuaries; and against pluralities and non-residence. Fox's *Acts*, p. 907, 908. Burnet's *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 79, 80. Wake's *State of the Church*, p. 472—474.

they

they should be betraied even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith: *In the world ye shal have oppression, and the world shall hate you: but in me you shall have peace.* And in the 10th chapter of St. Mathewes gospell saith our Saviour Christ also: *Loe I send you forth as sheepe among Wolves.* So that the true preachers go like sheepe harmelesse, and bee persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God: so farre is it off that they will persecute any other, but with the worde of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should bee knowne by, that it should bee despised among those worldlie wise men, and that they shoulde repute it but foolishnesse and deceiveable doctrine, and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from towne to towne, yea and at the last lose both goods and life.

"And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles remembring this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you maie read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle S. Paul saith, *that every man that wil live godly in Christ Jesu, should suffer persecution.* And also he saith further in the Epistle written to the Philippians in the first chapter: *that it is not only given to you to beleeve in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.*

"Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truely preached, there is persecution, as wel of the hearers as of the teachers: and where as is quietnes and rest in worldly

worldly pleasure, there is not the trueth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrarie to it. And to be short, S. Paul calleth the gospell the word of the crosse, the word of punishment. And the holy scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withall.

"Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace, to returne to this golden rule of our master and Savior Jesus Christ, which is this: *by their fruits ye shall knowe them.* For where you see persecution, there is the gospell, and there is the truth: and they that do persecute, bee voide and without all trueth: not caring for the cleare light, which (as our Savior Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of S. John's gospell) *is come into the world, and which shal utter and shew forth every man's workes.* And they, whose workes be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the holie scripture should not bee read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresie and insurrection, and so they perswade, at the least waie they would faine perswade your Grace to keepe it backe. But here marke their shamelesse boldnesse, which bee not ashamed, contrarie to Christe's doctrine, to gather figges of thornes, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkenesse, and darknesse light, sweete sowre, and sowre sweete, good evill, and evill good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissention and strife. But such is their bellie wisdome: therewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked Mammon, the goods of this world, which is their God, and hath so blinded

ed

ed the eies of their hearts, that they cannot see the cleare light of the sacred scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

"But as concerning this matter, other men have shewed your Grace their mindes, how necessarie it is to have the scripture in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised[6] by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gratious highnesse maie shortlie performe, even to daie before to morrowe. Nor let not the wickednesse of these worldlie men deteine you from your godlie purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly wise counsellors of Hammon

[6] *Hath promised.*] The promise however, is worded in such a manner, as to shew, that the person who drew the proclamation, was chiefly anxious to secure to his Prince pretences for evading its fulfilment. "Albeit, yf it shall hereafter appeare to the king's highness, that his said people do utterly abandon and forsake all perverse, erroneous, and seditious opinions, with the New Testament and the Old corruptly translated into the English tonge, nowe being in printe; and that the same bokes, and all other bokes of heresie, as well in the French tonge, as in the Dutch tonge, be clearly exterminate, and exiled out of this realme of England forever; his Highness intendeth to provide, that the holy scripture shall be by great, learned, and catholique persons, translated into the Englishe tonge, *yf it shall then seem* to his Grace convenient so to be." Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 741. I believe we may truly say, that the following is by no means an uncandid representation of the motives and design of this promise. "When the clergy condemned Tyndal's translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a new translation of it, which many thought was truly never designed, but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tyndal's works, with the hopes of one that should be authorized." Johnson's *Historical Account.* p. 69, in Bishop Watson's Theolog. Tracts. vol. iii. For an account of the intrigues and contrivances of Gardiner and the popish party, when, a few years afterwards (1540), Henry renewed his promise, with a much more sincere purpose of fulfilling it, See the same work, p. 77, 78, or Lewis's *History of Translations*, p. 144, &c.

the

the sonne of Naas, king of the Ammonites, which, when David had sent his servants to comfort the yong king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hammon, not alonely not to receive them gentlie, but to entreate them most shamefully and cruelly, saying: *that they came not to comfort him, but to espie and search his land, so that afterward they bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it.* And they caused the young king to sheare their heads, and to cut their coates by the points, and sent them away like fooles: whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have intreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellers! But see what followed of this carnall and worldlie wisdome. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realme, and also of all them which tooke their partes.

"Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to saie, his true preachers, and his owne worde also to comfort our weake and sicke soules, let not these worldlie men make your Grace beleeve that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefes as they imagine of their own mad braines, least that he be avenged upon you and your realme, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever beene avenged upon them which have obstinately withstand and gainesaid his word.

"But peradventure they wil lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospell, regardeth not your Grace's commandement, neither set by your proclamation, and that was well proved

by these persons which of late[7] were punished in London for keeping of such bookes as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteeme other your Grace's lawes, statutes and ordinances. But this is but a crafty perswasion. For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or inhaunce his enemie, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather hee will seeke all the waies possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such bookes, the very true cause of it, and chiefe counsellors (as men say, and of likelihoode it should be) were they whose evill living and cloked hypocrisie these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four that would have had the scripture to go forth in English, yet it hapned there, as it is evermore seene, that the most part overcommeth the better; and so it might bee that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times moe, which hath put this your realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penurie, and more would have done if God had not mercifullie provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehoode and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be ye sure not without adherents, if the matter be only searched. For what marvell is it, that they being so nigh of your counsell, and so familiar with your lordes, should pro-

[7] *Persons which of late.*] Probably he alludes to Tewksbury, Freese, &c. Fox's *Acts*, p. 931, &c. The "head and captain" mentioned a little below, no doubt, was Wolsey.

voke

voke both your Grace and them to prohibite these bookes, which before by their owne authoritie have forbidden the New Testament under paine of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hel, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I thinke by the other) was meekely offered[3] to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

"Moreover, I will aske them the causes of all insurrections, which have beene in this realme heretofore. And whence is it that there bee so manie extortioners, bribers, murtherers, and theeves, which dailie doe not breake onely your Graces lawes, ordinaunces, and statutes, but also the lawes and commaundements of almightie God: I thinke they will not saie these bookes, but rather their pardons which causeth many a man to sinne in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundreth, but that he will crie out both of these bookes, and also of them that have them; yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon fagots to burne both the bookes and them that have them.

"And as touching these men that were lately punished for these bookes, there is no man, I heare say, that can laie any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your Graces lawes, this onely except, if it bee yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these bookes, that be evill, unruly, and selfe willed persons, not regarding Gods lawes

[3] *Meekely offered.*] "When I had translated the New Testament, I added an epistle unto the latter ende, in which I desired them that were learned, to amend if ought were found amisse." Tyndal's *Works*, p. 1.

nor mans, yet these bookes bee not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward minde and carnall wit, which should be amended by the vertuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the scripture. If the lay people had such curates that would thus do their office, these bookes nor the Divell himselfe could not hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame; so that the lacke of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischiefe. Neither doe I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirme all to be true written in these bookes, which I have not all read, but to shew that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the scripture, as they would make men beleeve should follow.

"And though it be so that your Grace may by other bookes, and namely by the scripture it selfe know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in sheepes clothing, yet I thinke my selfe bound in conscience to utter unto your Grace such thinges as God put in my minde to write. And this I doe (God so judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I thinke the word of God should goe forth without persecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your realme should have it in his mothers tongue. For the gospell must needs have persecution unto the time that it bee preached throughout al the world, which is the last signe that Christ shewed to his disciples should come before the daie of judgement: so that if your Grace had once commaunded that the scripture should bee put forth, the Divell would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love

that

that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only knowne by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhorte your Grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers and their abhominable waies and counsels.

"And take heede whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that for feare of losing of their worldly worship and honor, wil not leave their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withall by whom they had great promotion, they tooke upon them to defend by writing[9], so that now they thinke that all their felicitie which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdome not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should bee now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeale) before hee was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which he before despised and called heresie. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect then St. Paules was, as concerning the outward workes of the lawe, before he was converted.

"Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of God that hee should build any house for him: and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and

[9] *To defend by writing.*] I apprehend, that Latimer here alludes particularly to Sir Thomas More, lately made Lord Chancellor. Fox, I see, makes the same conjecture.

praised

praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eate his wordes againe when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

"Wherefore they bee sore drowned in worldly wisdome that thinke it against their worship to knowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may espie, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishnesse before God; that you may do that that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your owne sight without the word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight and one of the members of his church: and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithfull minister of his giftes, and not a defender of his faith[1], for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which hee hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as al the stories of the bible maketh mention.

"Wherefore gracious king remember your selfe; have pitie upon your soule, and thinke that the daie is even at hand when you shall give accounts of your office, and of the bloud that hath beene

[1] *A defender of his faith.*] Latimer here touches the king upon a very tender point: for Henry had been accustomed to pride himself very much in this title, which he had gained from Pope Leo the 10th, by his writings against Luther: "in iis præsertim promovendis operibus, quæ pro ecclesia catholica et *fide Christiana* militant: cujus nos *defensionem* suscepimus, quemadmodum ex *cognomento* nobis a summo pontifice nuper indito, *tenemur*." So says the king in his letters patent, prefixed to Bishop Fisher's *Assertionis Lutheranæ Confutatio*. A.D. 1523. And the Vicar of Croydon preached, that the king's grace would not lose that stile for all London, and twenty miles round about it. Tyndal's *Works*, p. 374. But perhaps Latimer was aware that the value of the title had by this time fallen somewhat in Henry's estimation.

shed

shed with your sword. In the which day that your Grace may stand stedfastly and be not ashamed, but to be cleare and readie in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your *Quietus est*, sealed with the bloud of our Saviour Christ, which onely serveth at that day, is my daily praier to him that suffered death for our sins, which also praieth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The spirit of God preserve your Grace. *Anno Domini* 1530. 1 *die Decembris*."

In this letter of master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider. First, his good conscience to God, his good will to the king, the duetie of a right pastor unto trueth, his tender care to the common wealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, wee have to consider the abuse of princes courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellers about them, and specially we may note the subtle practises of prelates, in abusing the name and authoritie of kings to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvell at in the said letter, the great boldnes and divine stoutnesse in this man, who as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly without all feare of death adventuring his owne life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case against the kings law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish that, which no counseller durst once speake unto him, in defence of Christ's gospell. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realme, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessitie would follow (as in deed they should) so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame

as they be, and all for lacke that the officers of God's word do not their dutie.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly almighty God wrought with his faithfull servaunt, whose bold adventure, and wholesome counsell, though it did not prevaile through the iniquitie of the time; yet notwithstanding God so wrought with his servant in doing his duetie, that no daunger, nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thankes and good will of the prince.

Then went he to the court, where he remained a certaine time in doctor Buts chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered[a] by the king, at the sute of Lord Cromwell, and doctor Buts, he was glad thereof, seeking by that meanes to bee rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree: and so having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the minde of doctor Buts,

A benefice offered.] This was about the year 1529, according to bishop Godwin. *De Præsulib.* p. 468. Yet in Feb. 1530, we find him at Cambridge, favouring the king's views in the affair of his divorce from Queen Catherine. Burnet, vol. i. p. 81, records. And in Lent, in that year, he was at court, preaching before the king. For so we learn from a letter written by the Vice-Chancellor of the university of Cambridge, to Dr. Edmonds, master of St. Peter's college. "*Dominica secunda* at afternoon, I came to Wyndsor, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary. But by and by, he (the king) greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and in so praising said on this wise, "This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vice-Chancellour yonder. Yon same," said he unto the Duke of Norfolk, "is Mr. Vice-Chancellour, of Cambridge;" and so pointed unto me." Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 23. Records. It seems probable that he went to reside at West Kington in the latter end of 1530, or the beginning of the following year.

hee

hee would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocesse of Sarum, the name of which town was called West Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himselfe with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flocke; and not onely to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mightie, the maner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like sorte hee could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us: *whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution.*

It so chanced, that whereas hee preaching upon the blessed virgine Christ's mother (whome we call our Ladie), had thereupon declared his minde, referring and reducing all honour onely to Christ our onelie Saviour, certaine popish priests, being therwith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruely, unjustlie, falsly and uncharitably imputed unto him.

First, that he should preach against our Ladie, for that he reprooved in a sermon the superstitious rudenes of certaine blinde priests, which so held together upon that blessed virgine, as though shee never had any sinne, nor were saved by Christ the onely Saviour of the whole world.

Item, that he should say, that saints were not to bee worshipped.

Item, that *Ave Maria* was a salutation onely, and no praier.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had lever be in purgatory then in Lollard's tower.

Touching

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his replie and answere to the same, hereafter follows,

A Letter of M. Latimer to M. Morice.

" Right worshipfull, and mine owne good master Morice, *salutem in Christo Jesu.* And I thanke you for all heartie kindnesse, not onely heretofore shewed unto me, but also that now of late, you would vouchsafe to write unto me so poore a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply aboundantly mine unability.

" M. Morice, you would wonder to know how I have beene intreated at Bristowe, I meane of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcommed me, made me cheare, heard what I said, allowed my saying in all things whiles I was with them: when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favored mee so greatlie, and that the Maior had appointed mee to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishops licence, which they knewe well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated M. Maior's appointment, pretending that they were sory for it; procuring also certaine preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powel, with other mo, whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wise councell of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherfore they so declamed against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that woulde abide by anie thing: so that they had place and time to belie me shamefully,

fully, but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge when I was present and readie to make them answere. God amend them, and swage their malice that they have against the truth and me, &c.

Our Lady was a Sinner.

" So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reproove certaine both priestes and beneficed men, which doe give so much to our ladie, as though shee had not beene saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved. I did reason after this maner, that either she was a sinner, or no sinner: if a sinner, then she was delivered from sinne by Christ: so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin, so that without him neither she, nor none other, neither be nor could be saved. And to avoide all offence, I shewed how it might be answerd, both to certain scriptures which maketh al generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostome and Theophilact, which maketh hir namelie and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great: notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will beare record. When they cannot reproove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me, to say that thing that they canne reproove, for they will needs appeare to be against me.

Saints are not to be worshipped.

" So they lied, when I had shewed divers significations of this word *(Saints)* among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped, take worshipping

shipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be wel used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to bee lay mens bookes for remembrance of heavenly things.

"Take saints for inhabitors of heaven, and worshipping of them, for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediatours, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alonelie is a whole mediatour, both for them and for us) yet by the way of intercession[4].

Pilgrimage.

"And I never denyed pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurfe must be pared away, ere ever it can be wel don, superstition, idolatrie, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinance for dooing of the thing: debts must bee paide, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to bee done, for it is neither under the bidding of God nor of man to be done. And wives must counsell with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

Ave Maria.

"As for the *Ave Maria*, who can thinke that I would deny it? I said it was an heavenly greeting, or saluting of our blessed lady, wherin the angel

[4] *Way of intercession.*] "M. Latimer's error in those daies." Fox in margin.

Gabriell,

Gabriell, sent from the father of heaven, did annunciate and shew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a praier, as the *Pater noster*, which our Saviour Christ himselfe made for a proper praier, and bad us say it for a praier, not adding that we should say ten or twenty *Ave Maries* withall: and I denied not but that we may wel say *Ave Maria* also, but not so that we shall thinke that the *Pater noster* is not good, a whole and perfect praier, nor cannot be wel said without *Ave Maria:* so that I did not speake against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the *Pater noster* to: and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a praier.

No Fire in Hell.

"Who ever could say or thinke so? Howbeit good authors doe put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soule without the bodie is a spirituall substance, which they say cannot receive a corporall qualitie; and some maketh it a spirituall fire; and some a corporall fire. And as it is called a fire, so it is called a worme; and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is a living beast, but it is a metaphor: but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worme it is, paine it is, a torment it is, an anguish it is, a greefe, a miserie, a sorrow, a heavinesse inexplicable, intollerable, whose nature and condition in everie point who can tell, but hee that is of Gods privie councell, saith St. Austen? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keepe us out of it, than to be curious to discusse the propertie of it: for certaine we bee, that there

is

is little ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wayling, and gnashing of teeth, which be two effects of extreame paine, rather certain tokens what paine there is, than what maner paine there is.

No purgatorie.

" He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not denie it. But I had lever bee in it, than in Lollards tower the bishops prison, for divers skils and causes.

First, in this I might die bodilie for lack of meate and drinke: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might die ghostlie for feare of paine, or lacke of good counsell: there I could not.

Item, in this I might bee in extreame necessity: in that I could not, if it be perill of perishing.

Item, in this I might lacke charity: there I could not.

Item, in this I might lose my patience: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be in perill and danger of death: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might bee without surety of salvation: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might dishonour God: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might murmure and grudge against God: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might displease God: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might bee displeased with God: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be judged to perpetuall prison as they call it: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be craftily handled: in that I could not.

Item,

Item, in this I might be brought to beare a fagot: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be discontented with God: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be a member of the divell: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be an inheritor of hell: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might pray out of charity, and in vaine: in that I could not.

Item, in this my Lord and his Chaplaines might manacle me by night: in that they could not.

Item, in this they might strangle mee, and say that I had hanged my selfe: in that they could not.

Item, in this they might have me to the Consistory, and judge me after their fashion: from thence they could not.

Ergo, I had leaver to be there then here. For though the fire bee called never so hot, yet and if the bishops two fingers can shake a way a peece, a friers cowle an other part, and *scala cæli* altogither, I will never found abbey, colledge, nor chauntrey, for that purpose.

" For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonor God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joie in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from suretie of salvation, that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me, I care the lesse for it. John Chrysostome saith, that the greatest pain that damned soules have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which paine he saith is greater than many helles: which

paines, the soules in purgatorie neither have nor can have.

"Consider M. Morice, whether provision for purgatorie hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not bin payd: restitution of evill gotten lands and goods hath not bin made: christian people (whose necessities we see, to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himselfe, to whom we are bounden under paine of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourselfe) are neglect and suffered to perish: last wils unfulfilled and broken: Gods ordinance set aside: and also for purgatory, foundations have bin taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordnance of God, and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hel, with masses, diriges, and ringing of many a bel. And who can pul pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in perill to come in suspicion of heresie with them? so that they may pil with pilgrimage, and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great luker and vantage shall fall away from them, which had leaver have profite with abuse, than lack the same with use: and that is the waspe that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poore purgatorie: so poore that it should not be able to feed so fat, and tricke up so many idle and slothfull lubbers.

"I take God to witness I would hurt no man; but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they meane by the popes pardoning of purgatorie, but by way of suffrage: and as for suffrage, unlesse he doe his duty, and seeke not his owne, but Christs glory,

I had

I had leaver have the suffrage of Jack of the skullery which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his masse. And that is as good of an other simple priest as of him. For authority of keies, is to loose from guiltinesse of sinne and eternal paine, due to the same, according to Christs word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within a halfe mile of the fosseway, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hailes. And they beleeve verily that it is the very bloud that was in Christs body, shedde upon the Mount of Calverie for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certifie them and putteth them out of doubt, that they bee in cleane life, and in state of salvation without spot of sinne, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder, if you should common with them both comming and going, what faiths they have. For as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal: for the sight of that bloud doth quite them for the time.

"I read in scripture of two certifications: one to the Romans: *Wee being justified by faith have peace with God.* If I see the bloud of Christ with the eye of my soule, that is, true faith that his bloud was shed for me, &c. Another in the Epistle of John, *Wee know that wee are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren.* But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the bloud of Hailes. It is very probable that all the bloud that was in the bodie of Christ, was united and knit to his divi-

nitie, and then no part therof shall return to his corruption. And I marvell that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they that did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body when they scourged him and nailed him to the crosse, did see it with their bodily eie, yet they were not in cleane life. And we see the selfe same bloud in forme of wine, when we have consecrate, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hailes without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the divell in our time is not dead.

" Christ hath left a doctrine behinde him, wherin we be taught how to beleeve, and what to beleeve. He doth suffer the divell to use his craftie fashion for our triall and probation. It were little thank worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ when he had taught truly, by and by bade, beware of false prophets, which would bring in errour slilie. But wee bee secure and uncarefull, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bugge.

" Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but halfe a dosen lines: but thus I forget my selfe ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemies.

" As for Doctor Wilson, I wote not what I should say: but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he, nor none of his countrey men did

did ever love me since I did invey against their factions, and partialitie in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him then I? That is the boil that may not be touched.

" A certain friend shewed mee, that Doctor Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holdernes, and from thence he wil go a progresse through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristow. What he intendeth by this progresse God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristow I shall heare tell.

" As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *servus hominum:* for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily in my minde they are more to be blamed than hee. Hee doth magnifie the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and christian kings they are little beholding to him. No doubt he did misse the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men thinke, will defend him: I pray God amende him, and them both. They would faine make matter against mee, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to ridde us both together, and so they would thinke him well bestowed.

" As touching Doctor Powell, how highly hee tooke upon him in Bristow, and how little hee regarded the sword which representeth the kings person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earle in this realme that knoweth his obedience by Christs commandement to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signifie, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit M. Maior, as he is a profound wise man, did twitt him pretily. It wer too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him. For to occasion the

people to them, he alledged this text, *Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife,* &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeale and crooked judgement.

" Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the kings grace to commaund me to preach before his highnesse a whole yeare together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they bely me, saying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end [5]."

A briefe Digression touching the rayling of Hubberdin against M. Latimer.

Forasmuch as mention hath bin made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisey, and a great straier abroad in all quarters of the realme to deface and impeach the springing of Gods holy gospel, somthing would be added more touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any enterlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life and in all his actions (in one word to describe him) seemeth nothing else but a right image or counterfait, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisie. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, this shall be enough for examples sake, for all christain men necessarily to observe; how the saide Hubberdin after his long rayling in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindall, Latimer, and all other like professors, riding in his long gowne downe to the horse heeles

[5] *Make an end.*] This letter was written, probably, some time in the summer of the year 1531.

like

like a Pharisie, or rather like a sloven, dirted up to the horse belly; after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreames, dauncings, hoppings, and leapings, with other like histrionicall to yes and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretickes, at last riding by a church side where the Youth of the parish were dauncing in the churchyard, sodainly lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dauncing, he came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought in stead of a fit of mirth, to give them a sermon of dauncing. In the which sermon after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then comming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Hierome, and Gregory, Chrysóstome, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindall, Latimer, and other hereticks (as he called them); at last to shew a perfect harmony of all these doctors together, as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe; first he calleth out Christ and his Apostles, then the doctors and ancient Seniours of the church, as in a round ring all to daunce togither: with pipe up Hubberdin. Now daunce Peter, Paul; now daunce Augustine, Ambrose, Hierom: and thus old Hubberdin as he was dauncing with his doctours lustilie in the pulpit, against the hereticks, how he stampt and tooke on I cannot tell, but crash quoth the pulpit, downe commeth the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin not dancing, but sprawling in the middest of his audience: where altogether he brake not his necke, yet hee so brake his legge the same

same time and bruised his old boanes, that he never came in pulpit more, and dyed not long after the same. Whereupon when the churchwardens were called and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answere again, excusing themselves that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter[6], now to our purpose againe.

The chief impugners and molesters of him, besides the country priests, were Doctor Powel of Salisburie, Dr. Wilson, sometime of Cambridge, M. Hubberdin, and Doctor Sherwood. Of whome some preached against him, some also did write against him: in somuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appeare before William Warrham archbishop of Canturburie, and John Stokesley bishop of London, anno 1531[7], Jan. 29.

[6] *This idle matter.*] "This man once made an oration in the praise of thieves and thievery; which he did at the command of some highwaymen that robbed him. And they liking it so well, returned him his money again, and two shillings more to drink their health. The manuscript whereof is still extant, and was once sold at the auction of Mr. Smith's books. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. i. p. 160.

[7] *Anno.* 1531.] Fox in general begins the year with the first of January; but he has not always adhered to this practice; from which neglect there is not unfrequently (what is common, from the same reason, in other historians) a perplexity in his chronology. The citation was issued in 1531, according to the then computation of the church of England, by which the year began on the twenty-fifth day of March; but this becomes 1532, reckoning the year from the first of January. It may perhaps be of some use to mention that Burnet begins the year, in his History of the Reformation, in January: and Strype in his works, in March.

The

The Copy of a Letter sent by M. Latimer, Parſon of Weſtkington, in the County of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton Knight.

" Salutem in Christo.

" Right worshipfull sir, I recommend me unto your Maiesterſhip with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable and so mindful remembrance of me so poore a wretch.

" Whereas of late I received your letters by Maister Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be greeved with me, wherefore, and what behooveth me to doe, in case I must needes come up; which your goodnesse towardes me, with all other such like, to recompense, whereas I my selfe am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answere another day. And I desire favour neither of your maistership, neither of any man els, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witnesse which knoweth all.

" In very deed maister chancellor did shew me that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me: and I made answer that he was mine ordinarie, and that both he might and should reforme me as farre as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be verie loth (now this deep winter) being so weake and so feeble (not onelie exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the colick and the stone) to take such a journey: and though

though he might so doe, yet hee needed not, for he was not bound so to doe: notwithstanding I said, if he to doe my lord of London pleasure to my great displeasure, woulde needes command me to goe, I woulde obey his commandement; yea, though it should be never so great a greevance and painfull to me: with the which answere he was content, saying he would certifie my lord of London thereof, trusting his lordship to bee content with the same: but as yet I heare nothing from him. M. chancellor also said that my lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with mee, for that I did contemne his authoirtie, at my last being in London. Forsooth I preached in Abbechurch [8]; not certaine then (as I remember) whether in his dioces or no, intending nothing lesse then to contemne his authoritie: and this I did not of mine owne swinge, or by mine owne procuration, but at the request of honest merchant men (as they seemed to me) whose names I do not knowe, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, least if I knewe them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to heare godly preaching should returne to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certaine. But they shewed not onely themselves, but also many other to be very desirous to heare mee, pretending great hunger, and thirst of the word of God and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoyd all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twise or thrise; till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not

[8] *I preached in Abbe-church.*] Fox's *Acts*, p. 954.

onely

onely content, but also desired mee; notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainely, and also that I had not the bishops seale to shew for mee, but onely a licence of the universitie: which curate did receive mee, welcommed me, and when I should go into the pulpit gave me the common benediction: so that I had not beene alonely uncharitable, but also churlishly, uncharitable, if I would have sayd nay. Now all this supposed to be truth (as it is) I marvell greatly how my lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

"First, he did never inhibite me in my life: and if he did inhibite his curate to receive mee, what pertaineth that to mee, which neither did knowe thereof, nor yet made any sute to the curate deceiptfully; nor did it appeare to me very likelie that the curate would so little have regarded my lords inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my lords minde before. Therefore I conjectured with my selfe, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whome he would, or els (and rather) that it was a trayne and a trap layd before me, to the intent that my lord himselfe, or other pertaining to him was appointed to have beene there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fayre and friendly, and also rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be so, I would my lord himselfe might heare me every sermon I preach. So certaine I am that it is trueth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainesaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there

there had beene something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate: yet heare I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate. I marvell not a little, how my lord bishoppe of London, having so broade, wide, and large dioces committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leysure, for preaching and teaching the word of God, *opportunè, importunè, tempestivè, intempestivè, privatim, publicè* to his owne flocke, *instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate & doctrina*, have leysure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himselfe with me, so poore a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertayneth to every mans cure, so intermixing and intermeddling himselfe with another mans cure, as though he had nothing to doe in his owne. If I would do as some men seyn my lord doth, gather up my joyse, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine owne cure, nor yet otherwhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

In very deede I did monish judges and ordinaryes to use charitable equitie in their judgements towards such as beene accused, namely of such accusers, which beene as like to heare and bewray, as other bene to say amisse; and to take mens wordes in the meaning thereof, and not to wrast them in an other sense then they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses, bee false before God, as Saint Hierome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of Mathew. Nor yet I do not accompt those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses, much lesse those which procure such witnesses against anie man: nor I thinke not judges now adayes so deepely

deepely confirmed in grace or so impeccable, but that it may behoove and become preachers to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the Epistle which I declared, Romans, vi. wherein is this sentence, *non estis sub lege, sed sub gratia*, ye christen men that beleeve in Christ, are not under the law. What a saying is this (quoth I) if it bee not rightly understand, that is, as Saint Paule did understand it? for the words sound as though he would goe about to occasion christen men to breake the lawe, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudapostles, adversaries to Saint Paule, would so have taken them, and accused Saint Paule of the same to my lord of London? If my sayd lorde would have heard Saint Paule declare his owne minde, of his owne wordes, then hee should have escaped, and the false apostles put to rebuke. If he would have rigorously followed *utcunque allegata & probata*, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good Saint Paule must have borne a fagot at Paules crosse, my lord of London being his judge. Oh, it had beene a goodly sight to have seene Saint Paule with a fagot on his backe, even at Paules crosse, my lord of London bishoppe of the same, sitting under the crosse. Nay verily I dare say, my lord should sooner have burned him: for Saint Paule did not meane that christen men might breake lawe, and doe whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law: but he did meane that christen men might keepe the law and fulfill the lawe, if they would, because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whome they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfill the law to pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their owne strength, and without

without Christ: so that to be under the law, after Saint Paules meaning, is to be weake to satisfie the lawe: and what could Saint Paule doe withall, though his adversaries would not so take it?

But my lord would say peradventure that men will not take the preachers wordes otherwise then they meane therein. *Bona verba*; as though Saint Paules wordes were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romaines, where he sayeth *quod injustitia nostra dei justitiam commendat*, that is to say, our unrighteousnes commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousnesse of God, which soundeth to many as though they should be evill, that good should come of it, and by unrighteousnesse, to make the righteousnesse of God more excellent. So Saint Paule was reported to meane: yet hee did meane nothing so; but shewed the inestimable wisedome of God, which can use our naughtines to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodnes: not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my lord will not thinke (I dare say) that Saint Paule was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainely, to avoyde evill offence of the people: but rather he will blame the people, for that they tooke no better heede, and attendaunce to Paules speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pittie the people, which had beene so long nuzled in the doctrine of the Pharisies, and wallowed so long in darknes of mans traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightnesse of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by Saint Paule. Nor I thinke not that my Lord will require more circumspection, or more convenience to avoyd offences of errours in me, than was in Saint Paule when he did not escape malevolus corrections, and slaunderous reports of them

them that were of perverse judgements, which reported him to say whatsoever hee appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to followe of his saying: but what followeth? *sic ajunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis*; so they report us to say, sayth Saint Paule, so they speake evill of us: *sed quorum damnatio justa est*, but such, whose damnation is just sayth hee: and I thinke the damnation of all such that evill reporten preachers now adaies, likewises just: for it is untruth now and then. Yea Christ himselfe was misreported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his wordes. First he sayd *destruite*, that is to say, destroy you: they made it *possum destruere*, that is to say, I can destroy: he sayd *templum hoc*, this temple, they added *manu factum*, that is to say, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his wordes, and also added unto his wordes, to alter his sentence: for he did meane of the temple of his body, and they wrast it to Salomons temple.

Now I report me whether it be a just fame raysed up, and dispersed after this manner. Nay verely, for there bee three maner of persons which can make no credible information. First adversaries, enemies: second, ignorant, and without judgement: thirdly, *susurrones*, that is to saye, whisperers, and blowers in mens eares, which will spew out in hudder mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore relation of such is not credible, and therefore can make no fame lawfull, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make processe against any man. Nor it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evill, for it is a great commendation to be evill spoken off, of them that be naught

themselves, and to bee commended of the same, is many times no little reproch. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speake well one upon an other.

Mee semes it were more comely for my lorde (if it were comely for mee to say so) to be a preacher himselfe, having so great a cure as hee hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himselfe If it would please his lordship to take so great labour and paine at anie time, as to come to preach in my little bishopricke at Westkington, whether I were present or absent my selfe, I would thanke his lordshippe hartily, and thinke my selfe greatly bounden to him, that hee of his charitable goodnes would goe so farre to helpe to discharge mee in my cure, or else I were more unnaturall than a beast unreasonable: nor yet I would dispute, contende or demaund by what authoritie or where hee had authoritie so to do, as long as his predication were fruitfull, and to the edification of my parishioners. As for my lord, hee may do as it pleaseth his lordship. I pray God he do alwaies as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure Saint Paule the true minister of God, and faithfull dispensour of Gods mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and very bishops, sayeth in the first chapter to the Phillippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby to greeve him withall, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authoritie into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: notwithstanding (sayth he) by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it bee of occasion or of truth, as ye would say for truthes sake, so that Christ be preached, and shewed, I joy and will joy: so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promo-

tion

tion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of christen soules, than the maintenance of his owne authority, reputation and dignitie; considering right well, as hee sayd, that what authority so ever hee had, it was to edification, and not to destruction. Now I thinke it were no reproche to my lord but very commendable, rather to joy with Saint Paule, and be glad that Christ be preached *quovis modo*, yea though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdaine, despite and contempt of his lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt) than when the preaching can not be reproved justly, to demaund of the preacher austerely as the Pharisies did of Christ, *qua authoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam autoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his lordship to be so good lord unto me. For the universitie of Cambridge hath authoritie apostolick to admit twelve yearely, of the which I am one: and the kinges highnes, God save his grace, did decree that all admitted of universities, should preach throughout all his realme as long as they preached well, without distreine of any man, my lord of Canturbury, my lord of Duresme, with such other not a few standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to contemne my lord of Londons authoritie were no little fault in me: so no lesse fault might appeare in my lord of London to contemne the kings authority and degree, yea so godly, so fruitfull, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of christen soules, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace, and authority apostolique. To have a booke, of the kinge not inhibited, is to obey the king; and to inhibite a preacher of the king admitted,

ted, is it not to disobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authoritie to admit as to inhibit? Hee that resisteth the power, whether admitting, or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinaunce of God? We lowe subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us ensample of such obedience? As for my preaching it selfe, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot rightfully blame it, nor justly reprove it, if it bee taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it, or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, ast he poet Martiall sayd to one that depraved his booke:

Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus:
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus.

But now I heare say, that my lord of London is informed, and upon the sayd information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaryes and judges, which I ensure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong: for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right, nor I am not altogether so foolish as to defende the thing which I knewe not. It might have become a preacher to say as I sayd, though Bilney had never beene borne. I have knowne Bilney a great while, I thinke much better than ever did my lord of London: for I have beene his ghostly father many a time: and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have knowne hitherto few such, so prompt and ready to doe everie man good after his power, both friends, and foe, noysome wittingly

wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable, so seeking to reconcile them, as hee did, I have knowne yet not many; and to be short in a summe a very simple good soule, nothing fit nor meete for this wretched world, whose blinde fashion and miserable state (yea farre from Christes doctrine) he could as evill bear, and would sorrow, lament and bewayle it as much as any man that ever I knewe: as for his singular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speake of it. Notwithstanding if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrarie to the obedience which a christian man doth owe, either to his prince or to his bishoppe, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall: wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himselfe in judgment, I cannot tell, nor I will not meddle, withall: God knoweth, whose judgementes, I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously, and vertuously, and killing his olde Adam, that is to say, mortifying his evill affections, and blinde motions of his heart so diligently, should dye an evill death. There is no more but let him that standeth beware that he fall not: for if such as he shall dye evill, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am? But let this goe, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon.

"Either my lord of London will judge my outward man onely, as it is sayd, *Omnes vident quæ foris sunt*, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said *Deus autem intuetur cor.* If he will have to doe onely with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversa-

tion, how that I have ordered my selfe toward my christen brethren the kings liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London: for I have preached and teached but according to holy Scripture, holy fathers, and auncient interpretours of the same, with the which I thinke, my lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing els in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditours to faith and charitie, to do their duetie, and that that is necessary to be done. As for thinges[9] of private devotion, meane thinges, and voluntary thinges, I have reproved the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the thinges themselves, as it becommeth preachers to do: which thing if my lord of London will doe himselfe (as I would to God he would doe) hee should bee reported (no doubt) to condemne the use of such thinges, of covetous men which have dammage, and finde lesse in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profite should not continue (so thornie be their hearts.) If my lord will needs coaste and invade my inwarde man, will I nill I, and breake violently into my heart, I feare me I shall either displease my lord of London, which I would be very loath, or els my Lord God, which I will be more loath: not for any infidelity, but for ignorannce, for I beleeve as a christen man ought to beleeve. But peradventure my lord knoweth and will knowe manie things certainly, which (perchaunce) I am ignoraunt in; with the which ignorannce though my lord of London may if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it as long as I hurt no man withall, and say to

[9] *As for thinges.*] For an excellent specimen of Latimer's preaching upon these arguments, see Fox's *Acts*, p. 1940.

him with diligent study, and dayly praier, *paratum cor meum Deus, paratam cor meum*, so studying, preaching, and tarying the pleasure and leysure of God: and in the meane season (Acts viii.) as Apollos did, when hee knewe nothing of Christ, but *Baptismum Johannis*, teach and preach mine even christen that, and no farther then I knowe to be true. There be three creedes, one in my masse, an other in my mattyns, the thirde common to them that neither say masse nor mattyns, nor yet knowe what they say when they say the creede, and I beleeve all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for mee and all other to beleeve: yet I am ignoraunt in thinges which I trust heereafter to knowe, as I do now knowe thinges, in which I have beene ignoraunt heeretofore: ever learne and ever to be learned, to profite with learning, with ignoraunce not to noy.

"I have thought in times past, that the pope Christes vicar, hadde been lord of all the world as Christ is, so that if he should have deprived the king of his crowne, or you of the lordshippe of Bromeham, it had beene enough: for hee could do no wrong. Now I might be hyred to thinke otherwise: notwithstanding I have both seene and heard Scripture drawen to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the popes dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I had hearde *ecce vobiscum sum, & qui vos audit, me audit*, bended to coroborate the same. Now I might bee easily intreated to thinke otherwise. I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoyled purgatorie at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might perswade me otherwise; or els I would marvayle why hee would suffer so much money to bee

bestowed that waye, which so needfull is to bee bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrones in heaven as hee might deliver out of purgatory. I have thought in times past, that and if I had beene a fryer and in a cowle, I could not have beene damned, nor afeard of death; and by occasion of the same I have beene minded manie times to have beene a fryer, namely when I was sore sicke and diseased. Now I abhorre my superstitious foolishnesse. I have thought in times past, that diverse images of saintes could have holpen mee, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I knowe that one can helpe, as much as another. And it pityeth mine heart that my lord and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to bee so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindnes I have beene in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in mee: but by continuall prayer, continuall study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me. Yea, men thinketh that my lord himself hath thought in times past that by Gods lawe a man might marry his brothers wife, which now both dare thinke and say[1] contrarie: and yet this his boldnes might have chaunced in pope Julius dayes, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a fagot. Which thing deepely considered, and pondered of my lorde, might something stirre him to charitable equitie, and to bee

[1] *Dare think and say.*] Stokesly was particularly zealous and effective in promoting Henry's view in *his great matter* of the divorce. To him the king referred Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, for satisfaction in that very important point, that his marriage with the widow of prince Arthur, *being directly againts the law of nature, could in no wise by the church be dispensable.* Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 54. edit. 1729.

something

something remissable toward men, which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and doth hurt to no man with their ignorancie; for there is no greater distaunce, than betweene Gods lawe, and not Gods lawe: nor it is not so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but because it is so or so indeede, therefore wee must thinke it so, or so, when God shall give us knowlege thereof: for if it be indeede either so or not, it is so or not so, though all the world had thought otherwise these thousand yeares.

"And finally as ye say, the matter is weighty and ought substantially to be looked upon; even as weightie as my life is worth: but how to looke substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as hee hath boldned me to preach his truth, so hee will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him, fruite thereby; and even so I desire you, and all other that favour mee for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I, (without his mightie helping hand) that can abide that brunt: but I have trust that God will helpe mee in time of neede; which if I had not, the ocean sea, I thinke should have divided my lorde of London and mee by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himselfe, and yet ought to bee: I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to Gods pleasure and safety of our soules, amen.

"I pray you pardon mee that I write no more distinctly, nor more truely: for my head is so out of frame, that it should bee too painefull for me to write it againe: and if I be not prevented, shortly I intende to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas,

Christmas, for all the sorrowe, least perchance I never returne to them againe: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter, as a bucke in sommer."

A Letter of Syr Edward Baynton Knight, aunsweringe to the Letter of Maister Latimer sent to him before.

"Maister Latimer, after heartie recommendations: I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friendes, such as for Christen charitie (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it swarve from the truth) or at the least in your manner and behaviour, in as much as it giveth occasion of slaunder and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And for as much as your sayde letter misliked them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your Christen breast, as in my judgement yee will conformably and gladly, both heare that may bee reformed in you, and also (as it is worthie) so knowledge and confesse the same: I have therefore desired them to take the paine to note their mindes in this letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayinges, and sent from mee your assured friende and favourer, in that that is the verie truth of Gods word: wherein nevertheless, as I trust, yee your selfe will temper your owne judgement, and in a sobernesse affirme no truth of your selfe, which should divide the unitie of the congregation in Christ, and the received trueth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the scripture of God; even so whatsoever yee will do therein (as I thinke yee will not otherwise

otherwise than ye should doe) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this a tercation and contention, must rather of good congruence shewe my selfe in that you disagree with them, readier to followe their doctrine in truth, than yours, unlesse it may please almightie God to inspire and confirme the hearts of such people to testifie the same in some honest number as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

"Onely God knoweth the certaine trueth, which is communicate unto us, as our capacitie may comprehende it by faith, but that it is *per speculum in œnigmate.* And there have beene *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.*— Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, considering that to mee unlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwise, not having *sensus exercitatos,* as Saint Paule sayeth, *ad discernendum bonum & malum:* and it is shewed mee, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of Saint John in his epistle, where he sayth: *Omnis qui confitetur Christum in carne, &c. ex Deo est.* And like as the word of God hath alwaies caused dissension among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdome to the preacher, so in Christes congregation, among them that professe Christes name, *In uno Domino, uno Baptismate, & una fide,* they that preache and stirre rather contention, than charitie, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to bee taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christen charitie, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into an unitie of faith and baptisme. But for this point I would

I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may bee agreement, but also such sobernesse and uniforme behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expresse (as they may) the charitie of God tending onely to the union in love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our soules."

The Aunswere of M. Latimer to the Letter of Syr Edward Baynton above prefixed.

" Right worshipfull Syr, and my singular good maister, *salutem in Christo Jesu*, with due commendation and also thanks for your great goodnes towards mee, &c. And whereas you have communicate my last letters to certaine of your friendes, which rather desire this or that in me, &c. what I thinke therein I will not now say; not for that there could bee any perill or daunger in the said letters (well taken) as farre as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribled, as ye might well knowe both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had beene made. And besides that, yee know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venome, not for any diversitie of the flower, but for divers natures in them that sucketh the flower. As in times past, and in the beginning, the verie truth, and one thing in it selfe was to some, offence, to some foolishnesse, to other otherwise disposed, the wisedome of God. Such diversitie was in the redresse of hearers thereof.

" But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad: if it bee good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me: if it be otherwise, why should you

you not communicate it to them, which both could and would instruct you in the trueth, and reforme my errour? Let this passe, I will not contend: *had I wist* commeth ever out of season. Truely I were not well advised, if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine owne reformation; but yet it is good for a man to looke ere hee leapeth, and God forbid that ye should bee addict and sworne to me so wretched a foole, that you should not rather followe the doctrine of your friendes in truth, so great learned men as they appeare to be, than the opinions of mee, having never so christen a breast.

"Wherefore doe as you will: for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, bee noysome unto you. But yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for none other cause, at least way, in asmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meete for my mad head. And as touching pointes which in my foresayde letters mislike your friendes, I have now little leysure to make an aunswere thereto for the great businesse that I have in my little cure, (I know not what other men have in their great cure) seeing that I am alone without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholler to reade unto mee, without any booke necessarie to bee looked upon, without learned men to come and counsell withall; all which thinges other have at hand abundantly. But some thing must bee done, howsoever it bee. I pray you take it in good woorth, as long as I temper mine owne judgement, affirming nothing with prejudice of better.

"First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth, saying in reproofe of the same, that God knoweth certaine trueth. In deede alonely God knoweth all certaine truth, and alone-

ly

ly God knoweth it as of himselfe; and none knoweth certaine truth but God, and those which bee taught of God, as sayth Saint Paule; *Deus enim illis patefecit:* and Christ himselfe: *erunt omnes docti a Deo.* And your friends deny not but that certain truth is communicate to us, as our capacitie may comprehend it by faith; which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to bee required of any man, but according to his capacitie: now certain it is that every man hath not like capacitie, &c.

"But as to my presumption and arrogancie: either I am certaine or uncertaine that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertaine, why dare I be so bolde to preach it? And if your friendes in whom ye trust so greatlie, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you aske them, whether they be certaine and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send mee word what they say, that I may learne to speake after them. If they say they bee sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you bee sure, that hath so doubtfull teachers and unsure? And you your selfe, whether are you certaine or uncertaine, that Christ is your Saviour; and so foorth of other articles that ye be bounden to beleeve; or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civile ordinances bee the good workes of God; and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for a good intent? If ye be uncertaine, take heede hee be your sure friend that heareth you say so; and then with what conscience do you doubt; *Cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum sit?* But contrarie say you, alonely God knoweth certaine truth, and yee have it but

per

per speculum in ænigmate: and there have beene, *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam:* and to call this or that trueth, it requireth a deepe knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having *sensus exercitatos* (as Paule saith) *ad discernendum bonum & malum*, as ye reason against me, and so you doe best to knowe surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekely hither and thither, *omni vento doctrinæ, &c.*

"Our knowledge heere, you say, is but *per speculum in ænigmate?* What then? *Ergo*, it is not certaine and sure?

"I deny your argument by your leave: yea if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, *quia certitudo fidei est maxima certitudo*, as *Duns* and other schoole doctors say. There is a great discrepance* betweene certaine knowledge, and cleare knowledge: for *that* may bee of things absent that appeare not, *this* requireth the presence of the object, I meane of the thing knowne; so that I certainely and surely know the thing which I perfectly beleeve, though I doe not clearely and evidentlie know it. I know your schoole subtleties, as well as you, which dispute as though *enigmaticall* knowledge, that is to saye, darke and obscure knowledge might not be certaine and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest and evident knowledge.

"And yet there hath beene (they say) *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam*, which

* *A great discrepance.*] This part of the letter may be compared with Hooker's Vindication of his Doctrine, preached at the Temple Church, against an objection of Walter Travers, of which we shall find some account below in the Life of Hooker. See also his truly admirable *Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication*.

have

have had a zeale, but not after knowledge. Trueth it is, there hath beene such, and yet be too many to the great hinderance of Christ's glorie, which nothing doth more obscure, than an hote zeale accompanyed with great authoritie without right judgement. There have beene also, *Qui scientiam habuerunt absque zelo Dei; qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem domini cognoscentes, nihil minus quam faciunt*, I mean not among Turkes and Saracens that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have beene also that have lost *scientiam Dei, id est, spirituulem divini verbi sensum, quem prius habuerunt*, the spirituall knowledge of Gods word which they had before, because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same, but rather with their mother wits have impugned the wisedome of the father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deepe and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth. And it behoveth every preacher to have so deepe and profound knowledge, that hee may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet hee may bee ignorant and uncertaine in many things, both this and that, as Apollo was; but which things, whether this or that, hee will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for my selfe, I trust in God, I may have *sensus exercitatos*, well enough, *ad discernendum bonum & malum*. *Senses* exercised to discerne good and evill in those things which, without deepe and profound knowledge in many things, I preach; yet there be many things in scripture in which I cannot certainely

discerne

discerne *bonum & malum*, I mean *verum & falsum*, not with all the exercise that I have in scripture, nor yet with the help of all interpreters that I have, to content my selfe and other in all scrupulositie, that may arise: but in such I am wont to wade no further into the streame, than that I may either go over, or else returne backe againe, having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that heare mee, as farre foorth as I can, neither passing mine owne nor yet their capacitie.

" And such manner of arguments might well serve the divell *contra pusillanimes*, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertaine in thinges in which they ought to be certaine: or else it may appeare to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can bee certaine and sure of by Gods word to bee truth, *ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum & malum exercitatissimos*: as whether, if Adam had not sinned, wee should have had stockfish out of Iseland; how many larkes for a peny, if every starre in the element were a flickering hobby; how many yeares a man shall lye in purgatorie for one sinne, if hee buy not plentie of the oyle that runneth over our lampes to slake the sinne withall, and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatorie.

" Such argumentation (I say) might appeare to make well against such preachers, not against mee, which simply and plainely utter true faith and the fruites of the same, which be the good workes of God, *which hee hath prepared for us to walke in*, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duetie in his degree and calling, as the worde of God appointeth, which thing a man may do

do with sobernesse, having *sensus ad discernendum bonum & malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos.* For it is but foolish humilitie, willingly to continue alwayes an infant still in Christ, and in infirmitie: in reproofe of which it was sayd; *Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo.* For Saint Paule saith not: *Estote humiles, ut non capiatis.* For though he would not that we should thinke arrogantly of our selfe, and above that that it becommeth us to thinke of our selfe, but so to thinke of our selfe, *ut simus sobrii ac modesti,* yet he biddeth us so to thinke of our selfe, *as God hath distributed to everie one the measure of faith.* For he that may not with meekenesse thinke in himselfe what God hath done for him, and of himselfe as God hath done for him, how shall hee, or when shall hee, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friendes wil not allowe the same, I pray you enquire of them whether they may *cum sobrietate & modestia* bee sure they preach to you the truth; and whether we may *cum sobrietate & modestia,* follow S. Paules bidding, where he saith unto us all: *Bee not children in understanding, but in malitiousnesse be infants.* God give us all grace to keepe the meane, and to thinke of our selfe neither too high nor too lowe, but so that wee may restore unto him, *qui peregre profectus est,* his gifts againe *cum usura,* that is to say, with good use of the same, so that *ædificemus invicem* with the same, *ad gloriam Dei.* Amen.

" For my life, I trust in God, that I neither have, neither (by Gods grace) shal I, neither in sobernesse, nor yet in drunkennesse, affirme any truth of my selfe, therewith intending to divide that unitie of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the scripture of God; though

though it be shewed you never so often, that an opinion or maner of teaching, which causeth dissention in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of Saint John in his epistle where hee sayth; *Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God.* First not everie thing whereupon followeth dissention, causeth dissention; as I would they that shewed you that, would also shew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not mary his brothers wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then as Gamaliell sayde, *dissolvetur:* if it be of God, as I thinke it is, and perchance your friends also, who can dissolve it, but shal seeme me to repugne against God? And yet there be many not heathens, but in Christendome, that dissenteth from the same, which could beare full evill to heare sayd unto them, *vos ex patre diabolo estis.* So that such an opinion might seeme to some to make a dissention in a Christian congregation; saving that they may say perchance with more libertie than other, that an occasion is sometime taken and not given; which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saying that, *non omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.*

"The Galathians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweete libertie of the gospell into the sowre bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a Christian congregation when Saint Paule did write his epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of maisterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to Saint Paule that his apostleship was not of God, for as much as there was dissention in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renue their opinions by occasion of the epistle, some would *opinari*, as they were

were wont to do, and follow their great lords and maisters the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristened, but christened, and hie prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friendes, I knowe right wel what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the paraphrases of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his pen in a Christian congregation, in as much as many have dissented from him, not alonely in cloysters (men more than christened men) of high perfection, but also at Paules crosse, and S. Mary Spittle, besides many that with no small zealc have written against him, but not without aunswere.

" And I would faine learne of your friendes, whether that Saint Hieromes writing were of God, which caused dissension in a christian congregation, as it appeareth by his owne wordes in the prologue before the Canonicall Epistles, which be these: *Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant; sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo.* I pray you, what were they that called S. Hieroine *falsarium*, and corrupter of scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? unchristen, or christen? what had the unchristen to do with christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a Christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomackes than right judgement, of a greater authority than good charity: but Saint Hieronie would not cease to doe good for the evill speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same: and if this dissension

were

were in Saint Hieromes time, what may bee in our time? *de malo in pcius scilicet.*

"And I pray you what meaneth your friendes by a Christian congregation? All those (trow ye) that have been christened? But many of those beene in worse condition, and shal have greater damnation, than many unchristened. For it is not inough to a Christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we bee christened; to renounce Sathan, his workes, his pompes: which thing if we busie not our selves to doe, let us not crake that we professe Christes name in a Christian congregation, *in uno baptismo*, in one baptisme.

"And where they adde *in uno Domino*, in one Lord, I reade in Matth. 17, *Not everie one that saith Lord, Lord, &c.* And in Luke, the Lord himselfe complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessours, saying to them: *Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you?* even as though it were enough to a christian man, or to a christian congregation to say every day, *Domine Dominus noster*, and to salute Christ with a double *Domine*. But I would your friends would take the paines to reade over Chrysostome *super Matthæum, hom.* 49. *cap.* 24. to learne to know a christian congregation, if it will please them to learn at him. And where they adde, *in una fide*, in one faith, S. James sayth boldly, *shew me thy faith by thy works.* And S. Hierome, *Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostendimus.* And scripture sayth, *qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis:* and the divels beleeve to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friendes from that beleeving congregation, and from that faithfull company.

"Therefore all this toucheth not them that bee unchristened, but them that be christened, and

aunswere not unto their Christendome. For S. Hierome sheweth how true preachers should order themselves, when evill priests and false preachers, and the people that be by them deceived, should be angry with them for preaching the trueth (*Tom. 5. in Hieremiam capit.* 26), exhorting them to suffer death for the same of the evill priests and false preachers and the people deceived of them, which evill priests and false preachers with the people deceived, bee christened as well as other: and I feare me that S. Hierome might appeare to some christian congregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to divide the unitie of a great honest number, confessing Christ *in uno baptismate, uno Domino, una fide*, saying, The people which before were brought asleepe by their maisters, must goe up to the mountaines, not such mountaines which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountaines of the Old and New Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when thou art occupied with reading in these mountaines, if then thou finde no instructors, (for the harvest is great and the workmen be few) yet shall the diligent study of the people be fleeing to the mountaines, and the slouthfulnes of the maisters shal be rebuked.

"I do marvell why our christian congregation be so greatly grieved that lay people would reade scripture, seeing that S. Hierome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not heere the unchristened to the christened, but the lay people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have beene rocked and locked asleepe in a subtile trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have beene waked, but to their paine; at the least way, to the paine of them that have wakened them with the word of God:

God: And it is properly said of S. Hierome to call them maisters and not servants, meaning that servants teacheth not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their maister Christ, to his glory: maisters teacheth not Christes doctrine, but their owne, to their owne glory: which maisterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleepe againe: but Christ the verie true maister saith: *vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ mea viæ vestrae, dicit dominus:* and there have beene, *qui cogitaverunt consilia, quæ non potuerunt stabilire,* which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish. I pray God give our people grace so to wake, *ut studium illorum comprobetur*, and our maisters so to sleepe, *ut non desidia illorum coarguatur.* For who is so blinde that he seeth not how farre our christian congregation doth gaynesay Saint Hierome, and speaketh after an other fashion? God amend that is amisse: for we bee something wide, I wis.

"But now your friends have learned of S. John, that, *Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God.* And I have learned of Saint Paule, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christen, *qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant,* which confesse Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their actes: so that Saint Paule should appeare to expound Saint John, saving that I will not affirme any thing as of my selfe, but leave it to your friends to shew you *utrum qui factis negant Christum & vita, sint ex deo neene per solam oris confessionem:* for your friendes knoweth well enough by the same Saint John, *qui ex Deo est, non peccat:* and there both have beene and bee now too many, *qui ore tenus confitentur Christum venisse in carne,* which will

not effectually heare the word of God by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that Saint John saith, *qui ex deo est, verbum Dei audit, vos non auditis, quia ex deo non estis:* and many shall heare *nunquam novi vos,* I never knew you, which shall not alonely be christened, but also shal *prophetare,* and do puissant things *in nomine Christi:* and Saint Paule said there should come *Lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi,* ravening wolves which wil not spare the flocke, meaning it of them that should *confiteri Christum in carne* in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office, which Christ calleth *false prophets,* and biddeth us beware of them, saying, they shall come in *sheepes cloathing,* and yet they may weare both satten, silke, and velvet, called afterwardes *servi nequam, non pascentes sed percutientes conservos: edentes & bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis.* They are called *servaunts,* I trowe, *quod ore confitentur Christum in carne: nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem.* And yet your friends reason as though there could none barke and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristened, notwithstanding that Saint Augustine upon the same epistle of John calleth such confessours of Christ, *qui ore confitentur, & factis negant, antichristos;* a strange name for a christian congregation: and though Saint Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appeare not to be of God, to som mens judgement, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christes charity, so to cause men to hate *antichristianismum,* antichristes, according to the doctrine of Saint Paule, *sitis odio persequentes quod malum est,* hate that is evill: and so making division, not betweene christened and unchristened, but between christians and antichristians,

christians, when neither penne nor tongue can divide the antichristians from their blinde folly. And I would you would cause your friends to reade over Saint Augustine, upon the epistle of S John, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they thinke it expedient for you to knowe it, as I remember it is *Tra tatu.* 3. but I am not sure nor certaine of that, because I did not see it since I was at Cambridge: and heere have I not Saint Augustines workes to looke for it; but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to knowe the christians from the antichristians, which both be christened, and both confesse *Jesum esse Christum*, if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denyeth it in very deede: but to knowe whether, let us not stand upon our talkes, but attend to our doings and conversation of life, whether we, not onely do not put our indevour thereto, but also perswade our selves though it were not necessary for us to accomplish such things, &c. but that it is inough to beare rule and authority over them, and to bestow ourselves wholy upon secular matters, measures, and pompe of this world.

"And yet as long as they minister the word of God or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankinde, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to worke with the ministration of the same to the ende of the world, they be to bee heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for Gods ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitfull, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a divel, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origene sayth, and Chrysostome, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, Saint Hierome sayth; but there is required a judgement, to discerne when they minister Gods word, and ordinaunce of the same, and

their

their owne, least peradventure we take chalke for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion. For as it is commonly sayde, the blinde eateth many a flye, as they did which were perswaded of the high priests, to aske Barrabas and to crucifie Jesus: and ye knowe that to follow blinde guides is to come into the pit with the same. And will you knowe saith Saint Augustine, how apertly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity, and negligence? they dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himselfe, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whom they be blamed.

"Therefore, whereas yee will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth; when shal that be, as long as we will not heare the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reproove our evilnesse with the truth? And to say truth, better it were to have a deformitie in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the word (as Lyranus saith in his time few did, what they do now adayes, I report mee to them that can judge) than to have such an uniformitie, that the seely people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgement, superstition and idolatry, and esteeme thinges as they doe, all preposterously, doing that, that they neede not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lacke or want of knowing what is to be done, and so shew their love to God, not as God biddeth (which sayth: *Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate.* And againe: *Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic est qui diligit me*) but as they bid *qui quærunt quæ sua*

sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi, which seeke their owne thinges, not Christes: as though to tythe mynt, were more then judgement, faith and mercy.

"And what is to live in state of curates, but that he taught which sayd, *Peter lovest thou me? feede, feede, feede:* which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing els, but to weare rings, myters, and rochets, &c? And when they erre in right living, how can the people but erre in loving, and all of the new fashion, to his dishonor that suffered his passion, and taught the true kinde of loving, which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not bee reformed (I trow) *nisi per manum Dei validam.* And I have both S. Augustine, and S. Thomas, with divers other, that *lex* is taken not alonely for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is sayd; *Non estis sub lege*: though your friends reproove the same. But they can make no division in a christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a sobernes in our preaching, I pray God send it into us, whatsoever ye meane by it. For I see well, whosoever will be happy, and busie with *vae vobis*, hee shall shortly after come *coram nobis.*

"And where your friends thinke that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world; though your friends be much better learned then I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I thinke, or have thought, better then I, *juxta illud; nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, &c.* as though better men then I have not thought so, as Bonifacius (as I remember) Octavus, the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, Presbiter Cardinalis in his booke where he proveth the pope to be above the Councell General and Speciall, where he saith that the pope is *rex regum,* and *dominus dominantium,* the king

of

of kings, and lord of lords, and that he is *verus Dominus totius orbis, jure, licet non facto*, the true Lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact hee bee not so: and that Constantinus did but restore his owne unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that *in propria venit*, as S. John saith Christ did, *& sui eum non receperunt*: and yet I hear not that any of our christian congregations hath reclamed against him, untill now of late dissention began. Who be your friends I cannot tell: but I would you would desire them to be my good maisters, and if they will do me no good, at the least way do me no harme; and though they can do you more good then I, yet I am sure I would be as loath to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, maner of preaching, or writing.

"And as for the popes high dominion over all, there is one Raphaell Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in times past a marchaunt of dispensations, which I suppose would dye in the quarell, as Gods true knight, and true martyr. As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I shewed to you my minde before my ordinary: and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure mee to open my minde before him, not giving me warning before, saving I cannot interpret evill your doings towards me: and yet neither mine ordinarie, nor you disallowed the thing that I said, and I looked not to escape better then Doctor Crome[3]: but when I have opened my minde never so much, yet I shall be reported to denie my preaching, of

[3] *Than doctor Crome.*] See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. III. p. 102, 103. Also Appendix, p. 19. "There be some men that doo saye, that I have been abjuryd, and some saye that I am perjuryd; but the trewth is, that I am nother abjuryd, nor yett perjuryd."

them

them that have belyed my preaching, as he was. *Sed opus est magna patientia ad sustinendas calumnias malignantis ecclesiæ.*

" Sir, I have had more busines in my little cure since I spake with you, what with sicke folkes, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or that I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can goe quietly to bed which have great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, least I make a dissention in a christian congregation, and divide a sweete and a restful union, or *tot quot*, with *hæc requies mea in seculum seculi.*

" Syr, I had made an end of this scribling, and was beginning to write it againe more truely and more distinctlie, and to correct it, but there came a man of my lord of Farleys, with a citation to appeare before my lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not performe my purpose. I doubt whether ye can read it, as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it mee againe; and that you so doe, whether you can read it or not. Jesu mercy what a world is this, that I shall bee put to so great labour and paines, besides great costes, above my power, for preaching of a poore simple sermon? But I trow, our saviour Christ said true; *Oportet pati, & sic intrare: tam periculosum est in Christo pie vivere velle:* yea in a christian congregation. God make us all christians, after the right fashion. Amen."

Against this citation, although M. Latimer did appeale to his own ordinarie, requiring by him to be ordered, yet al that notwithstanding, he was had

had up to London before Warrham the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, where he was greatlie molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he being called thrise everie weeke before the said bishops, to make answere for his preaching, had certaine articles or propositions drawn out and laide to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he not onlie perceiving their practicall proceedings, but also much greeved with their troublesome unquietnes, which neither wold preach themselves nor yet suffer him to preach and to do his duty, writeth to the aforesaid archbishop partlie excusing his infirmitie, whereby hee could not appeare at their commandement, partlie expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his dutie doing, and that for no just cause, but onely for preaching the truth against certaine vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against. Which all may appeare by his epistle sent to a certaine bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed, the copie of which epistle is this:

The Copie[4] *of the Epistle written by M. Latimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

I cannot come to your palace, most reverend prelate, by reason of sickness; not any new indisposition, but one of old standing, though lately increased by fresh aggravations.—As far as I can see, I say, and conjecture, it will not be in my power to come to you to-day, without great injury to my-

[4] *The copie.*] This letter is given by Fox only in the original Latin. I thought it too valuable to be omitted; and have therefore translated it.

selfe.

selfe. And that your lordship may not any longer in vain expect my arrival, lo, I send you this strange sheet, blotted by my own hand, which will be a satisfactory evidence to you of the truth of my excuse. In what I am now about to write, I wish I might be able (but the pressure of the time, and this pain in my head, both forbid it) to expostulate with you, in a manner that I have great reason to do; for that you so long detaine me against my will, from the care of those souls which are under my charge; and particularly at this season [5] of the year, when there is most occasion for pastors to be present with their flocks.

"And why should I not expostulate with you? if indeed it may be permitted at all to me, so vile a slave, to plead with you so great a father. For if Peter thought it was fit, in respect of his office, that he should never cease, so long as he continued in this earthly tabernacle, to teach and admonish the people, and that so much the more urgently, the nearer he approached to death; can it otherwise than appear very unjust, that there are those, who neither teach themselves, even at this time of day (to say nothing of their not having taught in former times), nor permit those who wish to teach so to do, except only such persons as are ready to comply with their wishes through, and in every thing?

"In the *first* place then; I had liberty indeed to present myself before your lordship, but to depart, and extricate myself again, seems no longer to be at my own disposal. And seeing that for this long time, one object is pretended in the beginning, and another always aimed at in the progress

[5] *At this season.*] From this passage we may presume that this letter was written in *Lent*. The year was 1531-2.

of

of my cause, I have much reason to doubt of what kind the issue will be. But the truth, as I hope, will in the end deliver me. The Lord, who is the guardian of truth, will deliver me for ever. And therefore may I never forget the words of Saint Jerome in this behalf. *Nothing can give me pain which I shall suffer in the defence of truth: for God liveth, and he will take care of me. Secondly,* I was summoned to appear only before the bishop of London; and yet the whole process is carried on before you, my lord of Canterbury, occasionally surrounded by many other reverend fathers. My affair had some bounds and limits assigned it by him who sent me up, but is now protracted by intricate and wily examinations, as if it would never find a period; while sometimes one person, sometimes another, asks me questions, which do or do not relate to me, without measure or end. So, I say, it would seem to be, did not I myself (though perhaps somewhat uncourteously, yet I think not indiscreetly) impose some limit to their interrogatories; fearing, as I do, lest while singly I have to answer to so many, something, as it often happens, should unadvisedly fall from me, to injure a cause in other respects unimpeachable.

"Let them be contented to profess, to assert, to defend their own propositions; but why should the opinions of others be obtruded upon me, and I be compelled, I know not by what right, to make confession of them? This hardship I think is unexampled; and yet I am accounted untractable, for refusing to comply with what I deem their unjust importunities. If any man has any fault to object against my preaching, as being obscure or incautiously uttered, I am ready to explain my doctrine by further discourse; for I have never preached any thing contrary to the truth, nor contrary

trary to the decrees of the fathers, nor, as far as I know, contrary to the catholic faith; all which I can prove to be true by the testimonies of my enemies and calumniators. I have desired, I own, and do desire, a reformation in the judgement of the vulgar. I have desired, and still do, that they should distinguish between duties; and that each should maintain among them its proper value, its place and time, its rank and degree. And so that all men should know, that there is a very great difference between those works which God hath prepared for each of us, zealously discharging the duties of our respective callings, to walk in, and those that are *voluntary*, which we undertake by our own strength and pleasure. It is lawful I own, to make use of images; it is lawful to go on pilgrimage; it is lawful to pray to saints; it is lawful to be mindful of souls abiding in purgatory: but these things, which are voluntary, are so to be moderated, that God's commandments of necessary obligation, which bring eternal life to those that keep them, and eternal death to those who neglect them, be not deprived of their just value; least from a mistaken love of God, and by a foolish devotion, we meet with a return from him, not of love, but rather of hatred. For this is truly to love God, that we diligently keep his commandments, according to those words of Christ, *He that hath my commandments and doeth them, he it is that loveth me.* Let no one then so account of those precepts which respect our calling in God, as to chuse rather to wander in his own inventions; seeing that in the end we shall all be judged before the tribunal of Christ, according to those and not these; as Christ says, *The word which I have spoken, it shall judge at the last day.* Who can recompence for a single commandment of God,

by

by any inventions of his own, however numerous or specious; Oh! that we were as zealous in the things of God, as we are busy and careful about our own fantasies. There are many works, which when done in a simple and honest heart, God does not condemn, yea rather, out of compliance with mens' infirmities, does in some degree approve, which, if he were asked before they were done, he would neither command, nor counsel; as being things rather to be tolerated, when so done, than to be recommended to be done; lest haply by occasion of that commendation, those duties should come to be neglected, which are to be performed on peril of damnation. But what can be more unseemly, than to employ our preaching in that which God would neither command nor counsel, so long at least as those things thereby fall into neglect, which are commanded. I therefore hitherto stand fixed on the side of the commandments of God; so aiming, not at my own gain, but that of Christ, so seeking not my own glory, but that of God: and as long as life shall be permitted to me, I will not cease thus to continue, imitating herein all true preachers of the word, that have hitherto lived in the world.

"There are no doubt, and have long been some intolerable abuses amongst us. Why then should a preacher be called upon to recommend from the pulpit works, which, though they were seldomer performed (not to say never), I do not see that the christain religion would suffer any loss: unless indeed we be so wretchedly blind as to think that religion consists in our own unworthy lucre, and not in the true worship of God. It cannot be, I own, that the blameable abuse of these observances can be duly censured, but that straightway the use of them shall become less frequent. And yet I had rather

rather that some things were never done at all, than with that sort of confidence in them, which diminishes the regard to real duties. Some things we know, are to be done, and others are not to be left undone; others again we are under no obligation of doing, and may leave undone.

"But now is there any one that does not see amongst us many manifest abuses? Who is there that sees and does not greatly lament them? Who shall lament and will not endeavour to remove them? And when can they be removed, if the use be ever extolled, and the abuse passed over in silence? Nay verily it cannot be, but that the abuse must prevail, and bear the sway. It is one thing to tolerate that which may be permitted on fit occasions, and another to be always extolling it as a necessary matter, and to establish it by a law. *Go ye*, says Christ, *and teach all things.* All what things? *All*, says he, *which I have commanded you.* He does not say all which you yourselves may chuse to account necessary for preaching. Well then, for God's sake, let us so exert ourselves, as with one accord, to preach the doctrines of God; lest we become as those who corrupt and make a traffick of preaching, rather than true ministers of the word. Seeing especially, that men are very slow towards heavenly things; and so swift about their own, as to stand in no need of the spur; being miserably deceived by false judgment, and innate superstition, contracted even from their youth; vices which we shall hardly be able to cure by any preaching, how frequent, how vehement, how pure and sincere so ever. May God therefore provide a remedy that, in these evil days, they whose duty it is rather to preach themselves (for as Peter says, he gave us commandment to preach) do not hinder those that are willing and able.

able to exhort, (contrary to those words, *hinder not him who can do good)*, or else compel those to preach, who make traffick of the word, that they may so detain to their destruction, the miserable commonalty, in superstitions, and a confidence that cannot but fail them. Rather, O God! do thou have mercy on us, that we may learn thy way in the earth: and not be like those, of whom it is said, *Your thoughts are not as my thoughts; nor your ways as my ways, saith the Lord.*

"For these reasons, I dare not, most reverend father, subscribe the bare propositions which you require of me; being unwilling, as far as I may, to be the author of any longer continuance of the superstition of the people; and that I may not be also at the same time the author of my own damnation. Could I but be thought worthy, most venerable father, to offer unto you one piece of counsel. But I restrain myself. It is not hard to conjecture, how depraved and insufferable the heart of man is. But no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is in him. It is not any pride that withholds me from that subscription, which has been so often asked of me by your lordship to my great uneasiness. It cannot but be blame worthy, not to obey the fathers and leaders of the church. But it is their duty in the mean time to take care what, and to whom, they give commandment; since there are occasions in which we must obey God, rather than man. My head is so out of frame, and my whole body so weak, that I am neither able to come to you, nor to write over again, and correct this letter. Your lordship however, I hope, will approve, if not the judgment, at least the affection with which it is written. Farewell."

In

In this epistle foresaid, as ye heare, he maketh mention of certaine articles or propositions, whereunto hee was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copie and effect of those articles be these.

Articles devised[6] *by the Bishops, for M. Latimer to subscribe unto.*

" I beleeve that there is a purgatorie to purge the soules of the dead after this life.

" That the soules in purgatorie are holpen with the masses, prayers, and almes of the living.

" That the saints do praie as mediatours now for us in heaven.

" That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

" That it is profitable for christians to cal upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

" That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres, and reliques of saints are meritorious.

" That they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

" That the keies of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remaine with the bishops of Rome his successors, although they live wickedly; and are by no means, nor at anie time committed to lay men.

" That men may merit and deserve at Gods hand by fasting, praier, and other good works of pietie.

[6] *Articles devised.*] In reference to these articles, the curious reader may find it well worth his while to consult the declaration of Latimer's friend Dr. Crome upon certain like propositions objected to him by the bishops, March 11, 1530-1. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* Appendix, vol. iii. p. 19—27.

"That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishops, or their superiors, and be restored againe.

"That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custome received of the christians (except necessitie otherwise require) are to be observed and kept.

"That God in every one of the seaven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

"That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custome received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

"That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should bee had in the church as a remembrance, and to the honor and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints.

"That it is laudable and profitable, to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lightes, before them, to the honor of the said saints."

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertaine[7]. It appeareth by his epistle above written

[7] *It is uncertaine.*] Latimer's biographers are by no means agreed as to the *fact*, and the *extent* of his recantation. It may not therefore be amiss to state briefly, how the matter appears to have stood. In the first place, the title in Stokeley's (not *Tonstall's*) register does not necessarily prove that he subscribed. For in the case of Dr. Crome, which was very similar to that of Latimer, (May 11, 1530,) we find a memorandum subjoined to the entry (in which it is said, that "he did acknowledge and confess his faith as following,") to this effect "*Nota*, that these were not subscribed, *but only registered.*" Strype's *Eccles Memor.* vol. iii. p. 102.

Latimer's *first* trouble before the convocation was on the 3d and 10th of March, 1530-1. Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 725.

But

written to the bishop, that he durst not consent unto them, where he writeth in these words: *His ego nudis sententiis, subscribere non audeo, quia popularis*

But this matter came to nothing. "Ulterior deliberatio, in aliud tempus dilata est." The Minutes of Convocation mention nothing of the particular subjects of complaint against him. But in one of his own sermons, he tells the clergy, that they would gladly have raked in the coals of one "who never hurt any of you, *because he would not subscribe to certayne articles, that tooke away the supremacy of the king.*" *Sermons*, fol. 11. On such a subject, it is plain, his enemies would not dare to exert the whole of their strength. And therefore for that time we hear no more of him. And he was suffered to go on in his ministeral labours in the west, till he received the citation to appear before the bishop of London, of which so much has already been said. We now approach to the day of the submission recorded in Stokesley's Register. On March 11th, (1531-2), it appears by the Minutes of Convocation, that being required three several times to subscribe to certain articles (probably the same which are given in this page), and having as often refused, he was pronounced contumacious by the archbishop, then excommunicated, and delivered up to Warham to be kept in safe custody at Lambeth. On the 21st, the day specified in the London Register, after a long debate, the archbishop not being then present, it was resolved, that if Latimer would subscribe to the eleventh and fourteenth articles, he should be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. He was also commanded to make his personal appearance at the next sitting; when and where he appeared accordingly; and kneeling down he submitted himself, craved forgiveness, and acknowledged that he had erred in preaching against the aforesaid articles, in words as follows (*submisit se, et veniam petiit, et recognovit se errasse in prædicando contra articulos prædictos*). "My lords, I do confess, that I have misordered myself very farre, in that I have so presumptuously and boldly preached, reproving certain things, by which the people that were infirm hath taken occasion of ill. Wherefore I ask foregiveness of my misbehaviour. I will be glad to make amends. And I have spoken indiscreetly in vehemence of speaking, and have erred in some things, and in manner have been in a wrong way (as thus) lacking discretion in many things." After which he humbly begged to be absolved from his excommunication. But that was deferred: and he was further commanded to appear again

pularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo. But yet whether hee was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel hand-

on the 10th of April; on which day he voluntarily subscribed the eleventh and fourteenth articles, was absolved from excommunication, and directed to be forthcoming on the 15th of the same month, to hear what further should be determined respecting him. By that day a new cause of complaint appeared against him; and he was called upon to render an account of a certain letter which he had written to one Greenwood, a master of arts in the university of Cambridge. The result of that day was, that he was commanded to come up again on the 19th. On which day he put in an appeal to the king. On the 22d the king, in a message conveyed by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, referred his cause back again to the convocation. Upon which, Latimer, making his personal appearance, kneeled down, and said as follows: "That where he had aforetime confessed, that he hath heretofore erred, and that he meaned then it was only *error of discretion*, he hath sytheus better seen his own acts, and searched them more deeply, and doth knowledge, that he hath not erred only in *discretion*, but also in *doctrine*; and said, that he was not called afore the said lords, but upon good and just ground, and hath been by them charitably and favourably intreated. And where he hath aforetime misreported of the lords, he knowledgeth, that he hath done yll in it, and desired them, humbly on his knees, to forgive him: and where he is not of ability to make them recompence, he said, he would pray for them." After making this submission, he was taken into favour again at the special request of the king. But some bishops entered a protest, because this submission did not imply a renunciation of his errors, as was always usual in such cases. After giving his promise that he would obey the laws, and observe the decrees of the church, the bishop of London, sitting in place of the archbishop, absolved him, and restored him to the sacraments. See *Wilkins's Concil.* vol. iii. p. 747, 748. And yet it is plain, that the convocation still retained a great grudge against him. They were not satisfied that the renown of the victory they had gained over him, should not be propagated. And therefore in the next year (1533), as we find by the Minutes, published in Wilkins, "Primo die (26 Martii) habita fuit communicatio de examinatione magistri Hugonis Latymer, et de confessione, et submissione, et subscriptione ejus

handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By the words and the title in Tonstalls Register prefixed before the articles, it may seeme that he subscribed. The words of the Register be these: *Hugo Latimerus in sacra Theologia Bacch. in universitate Cantab. coram Cant. Archiepisc. Joha. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaque concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus est & recognovit fidem suam, sic sentiendo ut sequitur, in his artic xxi. die Martii. an.* 1531. If these words bee true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquitie of the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or els abide the bishops blessing, that is, cruell sentence of death, which he at that time, (as himself confessed preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustaine for such matters as these were, unlesse it were for articles necessarie, of his beliefe: by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitfull handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devises they used the same time to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he sheweth forth himselfe in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, an. 1550, Octob. 9. His words be these, "I was once" (saith he) "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoyling: every weeke thrise, I came to

ejus certis articulis facta de purgatorio, de veneratione sanctorum, de peregrinatione ad imagines sanctorum, contra quos ille in villa Bristolliæ contra promissum suum prædicasse dicebatur; ubi decretum fuit, quod hujusmodi submissio in ea parte facta, et manu sua subscripta mitteretur ad aliquem probum et doctum virum in partibus illis, ubi idem Latymer prædicasse asserebatur, aut predicare contigerit in futurum." Vol. iii. p. 756.

examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the lawe, but that God gave me answere and wisdome what I should speake. It was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood nere the chimneis end.

"There was amongst these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and tooke him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sate next the table end.

"Then amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer" "I pray you M. Latimer," said one, "speake out, I am very thicke of hearing, and here be many that sit far off." I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speake out, and began to misdeeme, and gave an eare to the chimney: and sir, there I heard a penne walking in the chimney, behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers: for they made sure, that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave mee answere, I could never else have scaped it." The question to him there and then objected, was this: whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresie. This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve, for that was to grant himself faultie. To answere, it was every way full of danger. But God

which

which always giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as hee confesseth himself) he had never escaped their bloudy hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there expresse.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice, partly by his owne words above mentioned, and partly by his letters.

In these so hard and dangerous straites, and such snares of the bishops, hard it had beene for him, and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, hadde not the Almightie helping hand of the highest, as hee stirred him up, so preserved him through the favour and power of his Prince: who with much favour embraced him, and with his meere power sometimes rescued and delivered him out of the crooked clawes of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement, partly of Doctour Buttes, partly of good Cromwell, (whose storie ye heard before) hee advanced him to the degree and dignitie of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester[8], which so continued a few yeares, instructing his diocesse, according to the duety of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duely agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his paines; as studie, readinesse and continuall carefulnesse in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would

[8] *Bishop of Worcester.*] He was consecrated in the month of September, A. D. 1535. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 298.

beare.

beare. But the daies then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things doe that he would. Yet what he might doe, that hee performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relicks of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken awaie, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profite as might be. As (for example) in this thing, as in divers other it did appeare, that when it could not be avoyded, but holy water and holy bread must needes bee received, yet hee so prepared and instructed them of his dioces, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof, superstition shoulde bee excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his dioces, in delivering the holie water and holie bread, to say these words following:

Words ſpoken[9] *to the people in giving them holy water.*

Remember your promise in baptism,
Christ his mercy and bloudshedding,
By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sinnes you have free pardoning.

What

[9] *Words spoken.*] Similar interpretations of this, and other ceremonies, were *publicly* adopted, and taught in the *Articles* of 1536, and the *Institution of a Christian Man* in the following year. Comp. also Burnet, vol. ii. p. 117. Appendix. How much was gained even by these modifications, we might better appreciate, if we were fully in possession of all the superstitious fooleries, to which these observances, in their unmodified state, were made instrumental. Let us take one example. In archbishop Cranmer's Visitation, A. D. 1543, "Sir William

What to say in giving holy bread.

Of Christs body this is a token,
Which on the crosse for our sinnes was broken.
Wherfore of your sinnes you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was in doing the duety of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to passe, if the time then had answered to his desire: for he was not ignorant, how the institution of holy water and holy bread, not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of prophane exorcismes and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Gospel. Thus this good man behaved himselfe in his dioces. But, as before, both in the universitie, and at his benefice, he was tossed and turmoyled by wicked and evill disposed persons, so in his bishopricke also

William Kemp, vicar of Northgate, was presented, because he had not read the Bible since Pentecost. He doth not declare to his parishioners the right use of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candle-mas day, giving of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross. For lack whereof the most part of the said parish be as ignorant in such things, as ever they were: and many of them do abuse holy water, insomuch that against tempests of thunder and lightning, many run to the church for holy water to cast about their houses, to drive away evil spirits and devils, notwithstanding the king's proclamations." Strype's *Memor. of Cranmer*, p. 101, 102. These interpretations however, did not satisfy the more ardent and hasty tempers of some of the friends of the Reformation, who did not scruple to condemn them with much severity as half and temporizing measures. A curious passage to this effect may be seen in Turner's *Hunting of the Romish Fox*. Signat. C 8, D. 1. impr. at Basil. 1543.

he

he was not all cleare and void of some that sought his trouble. As among manie other evill willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The storie because he himselfe sheweth in a sermon of his before king Edward, I thought therefore to use his owne words which be these:

" In the kings daies that dead is, a great manie of us were called togither before him, to saie our mindes in certaine matters. In the end, one kneeleth downe and accuseth me of sedition, and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point, of such a mans doing, as if I should name, yee would not thinke. The king turned to me and said: " What say you to that sir?"

" Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him, 'Sir, what forme of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king?' would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king in the kings sermon? have you anie commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' besides this I asked him divers other questions, and he would make me no answere to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

" Then I turned me to the king and submitted my selfe to his Grace, and said, " I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many, more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Graces pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to beare their bookes after them. But if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to fra/he

frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had bin a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your Grace.'

"And I thank Almightie God (which hath alwaies been my remedie) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious Lord he turned into an other communication. It is even as the Scripture sayth; *Cor Regis in manu Domini.* The Lord directeth the kings hart. Certaine of my friends came to me with teares in their eies, and told mee they looked I should have been in the tower the same night."

Besides this, diverse other conflicts and combates this godlie bishop sustained in his owne country and dioces, in taking the cause of right and equitie against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time not far from the dioces of Worcester a certaine justice of peace, whom here I wil not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice in purchasing of certaine land for his brother, or for himselfe, went about to wrong or dammifie a poore man, who made his complaint to M. Latimer. He first hearing, then tendring his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman; exhorting him to remember himselfe, to consider the cause and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withall, (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault) sendeth word againe, in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatning words, &c. M. Latimer hearing this, answered againe by writing, the copy whereof hereafter followeth:

"Right worshipfull, *salutem in Domino.* And now sir I understand, that you be in great admirations

tions at me, and take verie grievously my maner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not beare it at my hand, no not and I were the best bishop in England, &c.

"Ah sir? I see well I may say as the common saying is: Well have I fished, and caught a frog: brought little to passe with much ado. You wil not beare it with me, you say. Why sir, what wil ye do with me? You wil not fight with me, I trow. It may seeme unseemly for a justice of peace to bee a breaker of peace. I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with mee, in that you saie you will not beare it at *my* hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turne it into good, I refuse no judgement. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceede in judgment. And then and there, do best, have best, for club halfe peny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein confuting me, you will defend your self and your brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long Robin, *ut dicitur vulgariter*. I cannot chuse but must alow such diligence For so should both your integrities and innocencies best appeare, if you be able to defend both your owne proceedings, and your brothers doings in this matter to bee upright. And then will I gladly give place confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons. But I thinke it will not be. But now first of all let me know what it is that ye wil not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsooth, that can I tell, no man better: for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper

slipper dealing, and such like misbehaviour. *O quam grave piaculum!* What a sore matter is this! And wil ye not beare so much with me? Will yee not take such a shew of my good will towardes you, and toward the saving of your soule at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would have thought that maister N. had bin so impudent, that hee would not beare a godly monition for the wealth of his soule? I have in use to commit such trespasses manie times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, of the best in the realme, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they wil not beare it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught, what is the office, libertie, and priviledge of a preacher? What is it else, but even to rebuke the world of sinne, without respect of persons; which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holie Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill beare (belike) to heare your fault openlie reproved in the pulpit, which cannot beare the same in a secret sealed up letter, written both friendly, charitablie, and truely, unlesse perhaps to rebuke sinne sharpely, be now to lack all charitie, friendship and truth. But maister N. if you will give me leave to be plaine with you, I feare me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregges of this deceiveable world, that I weene you have forgotten your catechisme. Reade therefore againe the opening of the first commandement, and then tell mee whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complaine.

"Item, you said further that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour, &c. How so, good maister N? Wherin? or how will you prove it to

be true, and when? So you said that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of M. Chamber, which heard as wel as you, what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himselfe. Master N. to forge and faine (which argueth an ill cause) that is one thing: but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to outface poore men and beare them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust mee master N. I was but very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began: but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteeme him better, than I do some other whom I have perceived and found otherwaies. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteeme all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad, among al men either friends or enemies, according to Paules precept not esteemed of the children of this world: *hate you* saith he, *that which is evill, and and cleave to that which is good.* And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evill, and evill good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seene. And now what maner of man doe you make me maister N. when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plaine, and so farre without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this tottering world, and have I been so many waies turmoiled and tossed up and down, and so much, as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as

as though I could not discerne cheese from chalke, truth from falshood, but that every seely soule, and base witted man might easely abuse me to what enterprise hee listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may bee abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused mee, promising before mee and many moe, that hee would stand to your awardship, and now doeth denie it? Why do you not tell mee, how those two false faithlesse wretches abused me, promising also to abide your awarde, and doth it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your selfe have abused me, promising me to redresse the injurie and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but onely you must needs burthen me with my neighbours abusing mee, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God helpe me in my need. For if he had abused me as you and other have done, I should bee soone at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him.

"Item sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants agreed to stand to your award. No sir? Master N. you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherentes have perswaded you to thinke it to be, so inducing you to doe their request to your owne shame and rebuke, if you persever in the same, beside the perill of your soule, for consenting at least way, to the maintenance by falshood of your brothers iniquity. For in that you would your awardshippe should take none effect, you shew your selfe nothing inclinable to the redresse of your brothers unright dealing with an honest poore man, which hath been ready at your request to doe you plea-

sure

sure with his things, or els he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.

" Ah maister N. what maner of man do you shew your selfe to be? or what manner of conscience doe you shew your selfe to have? For first, as touching your brother, you know right wel, that sir Thomas Cokin with a letter of his own hand writing, hath witnessed unto your brothers agreement, which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I shewed the same to my neighbor and other mo ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to shew. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their othes make a sufficient proofe trow you? The Lord himselfe saying: *in the mouth of two or three*, &c. Yea, you thinke it true I dare saie, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be: for there be three men alive that dare sweare upon a booke, that they both did agree. But what should we looke for at such mens hands, when you your selfe plaie tho part you do. But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

" Item sir, you said yet further, that the justices of Peace in the countrey thinke you very unnaturall, in taking part with me before your brother. Ah maister N. what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and ministring of justice is another thing: and a worthie minister of justice will bee no partaker, but one indifferent betweene partie and partie. And did I require you to take my part. I pray you? No: I required you to minister justice betweene

your

your brother and mine neighbour without any partaking with either other. But what maner of justices bee they I pray you, which would so faine have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and should reforme and amend your brother? as you your selfe know, no man better. What? Justices? no, jugglers you might more worthilie cal such as they be, than justices. Bee they those justices which call you unnaturall, for that you will not take your brothers part against all right and conscience, whome you had picked out and appointed to have the finall hearing and determining of my neighbors cause after your substantial and final award making? Verely I think no lesse. Forsooth hee is much beholding to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholsome counsell that you have to give your poore neighbors in their neede? In deede you shew your selfe a worthy jugler, oh, I would have said a justicer, among other of your jugling and partaking justices. *Deum bonum*, what is this world? Mary sir, my neighbour had spun a faire thred, if your partaking justices through your good counsell had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all Gods flock, from the whole fellowship of your so naturall and partaking gustices, Amen.

"Lord God, who would have thought that there had beene so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices in Warwickshire, if maister N. himself one of the same order (but altogither out of order) and therefore knoweth it best, had not tolde us the tale? But these call you, you saie, very unnaturall, &c. And why not rather, I pray you too much naturall? For we read of a double nature, sound and corrupt. That was ful of justice. This, unless it be restored, abideth alwaies unjust.

bringing forth the fruits of wickednes one after an other. So that he that wil not helpe his brother having a just cause in his need, may be justly called unnaturall, as not doing according to the instincte of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But hee that will take his brothers parte against right, as to ratifie his brothers wrong deceiving, he is too much naturall, as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God: and so to be naturall may seeme to be cater cosin or cosin germaine with, to be diabolicall.

"Item sir, finally and last of all you added these wordes following. Well, quoth you, let máister Latimer take heed how he medleth with my brother, for hee is like to finde as crabbed and as froward a peece of him, as ever he found in his life. Ah sir: and is your brother such a one as you speake of indeed? mercifull God, what a commendation is this for one brother to give an other: is this your glorying my friend? And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? it is written: *Vexation giveth understanding.* And againe, *It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me.* At least way I may pray to God for him as David did for such like, after this sort, *bind fast asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approache not neere unto thee.* In the mean season I would I had never known neither of you both: for so should I have beene without this inwarde sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardnesse of you both to godlinesse: for I cannot be but heavy harted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

"Wherefore knowing so well your brothers cause to bee so naughtie, why have you not indevoured your selfe, as a worthy justice, to reforme him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised

mised me to doe, now almost twelve months agoe, if not altogether? *Summa summarum*, maister N. if you will not come off shortly, and apply your self thereunto more effectually hereafter then you have done heretofore, be you wel assured therof, I shal detect you to al the friends that I have in England, both hie and lowe, as well his crabbednesse and frowardnesse, as your colourable supportation of the same, that I trust I shall be able thereby, either to bring you both to some goodnesse, or at least way I shal so warne my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your ilnesse, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least way, lesse harme by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoide and shunne your company. You shall not stay mee maister N. no though you would give mee all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I wil not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other mens sins. For whether it be by detestable pride, whether by abominable avarice, or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keepe any poore man so long from his right and duty so stifneckedly and obstinately, or whether ye wil crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any maner of waies to consent to the same? You know I trow, maister N. what theft is, that is, *to take or detein by any maner of way, an other mans good against his will that is the owner*, as some define it. If he be a theefe that so doth openly, what shall hee be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth and supporteth him by any maner of colour? Consider with your self good maister N. what is to oppresse and to defraud your brother in his businesse, and what followeth thereof. It is truely said, the sin is not forgiven,

except the thing bee restored againe that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation: which is as wel to be understanded, of things gotten by fraude, guile, and deceite, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherfore let not your brother maister N. by cavillation continue in the divels possession. I will doe the best I can, and wrastle with the divel, *omnibus viribus*, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man either in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withall that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of lawe in this realme that I am acquainted withall, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the lawe. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realme, that I am acquainted withall, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authoritie.

"I will do all this: yea, and kneele upon both my knees before the kings majestie, and all his honourable councell, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the divell shal possesse you still, to your finall damnation. So that I doe not despaire, but verily trust, one way or other, to plucke both you, and also your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you say hee is, out of the divells clawes, maugre the divels heart.

"These premisses well considered, looke upon it, good maister N. that wee have no farther adoe. Gods plague is presentlie upon us: therefore let us now diligently looke about us, and in no wise defend, but willinglie reknowledge, and amend whatsoever hath been amisse.

"These were the capitall points of your talke, as

as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter: and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so moove you, the rather to call your selfe to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply your selfe to accomplishe and performe what you have begun and promised to doe, namely the thing it selfe being of such sort, as apparantly tendeth both to your worship, and also to Gods high pleasure.

"Thus loe with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribling I wot not wel what (but I know you can reade it and comprehend it well inough) I bid you most hartily wel to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to Gods pleasure. Amen. From Barsterley the 15. of June."

It were a large and long processe to story out all the doings, travels and writings of this christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed al that came to our hands: but this I thought sufficient for this present.

Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop the space of certaine yeares, till the comming in of the sixe articles. Then being distressed through the straightnesse of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else must forsake his bishoprick, he did of his owne free accord resigne his pastorship[5]. At which time Shaxton the bishop of Salisburie resigned likewise with him his bishoprick. And so these two remained a great space unbishopped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memorie. At what time he first put off his rochet

[5] *Resigne his pastorship.*] This was July 1, 1539. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 298.

in

in his chamber among his friends, sodainly he gave a skip in the floor for joy, feeling his shoulders so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such an heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightned, but that troubles and labors followed him whersoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishoprick, first he was almost slain, but sore brused with the fall of a tree. Then comming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was againe in no little danger, and at length was cast into the tower[6], where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed king Edward entred his crowne, by meanes wherof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he beginning afresh to set forth his plough againe, continued all the time of the said king, laboring in the Lords harvest most fruitfullie, discharging his talent, as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamforde, and before the dutches of Suffolke (whose sermons be extant

[6] *Into the tower.*] "He was contented rather to be cast into the tower, and there to looke dayly for death, than to be found a wavering reed, or to deceive his prince. 'For they' (said he) 'that do allow any thing disagreeyng from God's word, in respect to fulfill the appetites of princes, are betrayers and murderers of their princes, because they provoke the wrath of God to destroy such princes: and these flaterers become guiltie of the blood of their princes, and are the chief causes of their destruction." Dedication prefixed to Latimer's Sermons, by August. Bernher, his faithful servant. It is probably to this time, and to these six articles, that Latimer himself refers in one of his sermons before King Edward. "I wyll tell you what a bysshop of this realme sayd once to me. He sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions, as were then sette out. And I aunswered him, that I would be ruled by God's booke; and rather than I would dissent one jotte from it, I would be torne with wilde horses, &c." fol. 37, b, edit. 1584.

and

and set forth in print) as also at London in the convocation house: and especiallie before the king at the court, in the same place of the inward garden which was before applied to lascivious and courtlie pastimes, there hee dispensed the fruitfull word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of manie.

In this his painefull travell he occupied himselfe all K. Edwards daies, preaching for the most part everie sundaie twise, to no small shame of all other loytering and unpreaching prelates, which occupie great roomes and doe little good: and that so much more to their shame, because he being a sore brused man by the fall of the tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty seven yeares of age, took so little ease, and care of sparing himselfe, to doe the people good.

Now to speake heere of his indefatigable travell and diligence in his owne private studies; who notwithstanding both his yeares, and other paines in preaching, everie morning ordinarilie, winter and sommer, about two of the clocke in the morning was at his booke most diligentlie. How carefull his heart was of the preservation of the church and the good successe of the gospell, his letters can testifie, wherewith he continually admonished such as then wer in authority, of their dutie, and assisted them with his godlie counsell.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased al the time of king Edward[7], to profit the church both

[7] *The time of King Edward.*] Much of his time, during this reign, was spent with Archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth. See Sermons, fol. 40.

During the whole of this interval, he was a very frequent preacher in London, at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. And

both publikelie. and privatelie, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightlie to be overpassed, but worthie to be observed, that God not onelie gave unto him his spirit plentiouslie and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same spirit he did so evidentlie foreshew and propheeie of all those kindes of plagues afore, which afterward ensued, that if England ever had a prophet he might seeme to be one. And as touching himselfe, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospell would cost him his life, to the which he no lesse cheerefullie prepared himself, then certainly was perswaded that Winchester was kept in the tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truelie proove the same. For after the death of the said blessed K. Edward, not long after queene Marie was proclaimed, a pursivant was sent downe (by the meanes no doubt of Winchester) into the countrey, to call him up, of whose comming although M. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about sixe houres before by one John Careles, yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himselfe towards his journey before the said pursivant came to his house.

And his sermons, as they were matter of great delight and improvement to the friends of the Reformation, so was their exceeding popularity regarded with much dislike and jealousy by the opposite party. "Frend Hoggarde, I can you thanke" says Robert Crowley, "that you have learned somewhat at Father Latimer's Sermons; though your coming thither were for lyke purpose, as you have heretofore haunted other men's sermons, to hear, and note, and beare tidings you wot whither. But I would wish that you hadde learned a little more." *Confutation of the Aunswer to the Ballade called the Abuse of the blessed Sacrament of the Aultare,* signat. A 3 b. A. D. 1548. It is probable, from other parts of this tract, that the person for whom Hoggard is insinuated to have acted as a spy, was Bishop Gardiner.

At

At the which thing when the pursivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him: "My friend, you be a welcome messenger to mee. And bee it knowne unto you, and to the whole world, that I goe as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the worlde. I doubt not but that God, as hee hath made mee worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so hee will able me to witnesse the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternallie." At the which time the pursivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that hee had commandement not to tary for him. By whose sodaine departure it was manifest that they would not have him appeare, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancie should deface them in their poperie, and confirme the godlie in their truth.

Thus master Latimer being sent for, and comming up to London, through Smithfield (where merily he said that Smithfield had long groned for him) was brought before the councel, where he patiently bearing all the mockes and taunts given him by the scornefull papists, was cast again into the tower[8], where he being assisted with the heavenlie grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruell and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdome would never

[8] *Into the tower.*] "This day" Sept. 13, 1553, "Hugh Latymer clerke, appeared before the Lordes, and *for his sedicyous demeanor* was comytted to the towre, there to remaine as close prisoner, having attending upon him Austeyn his servaunte." Minutes of Privy Council, in Haynes's Burghley *State Papers*, p. 183.

fall:

fall: yet hee shewed himselfe not onelie patient, but also cheerefull in and above all that which they could or would worke against him: yea such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that hee was able not onelie to despise the terriblenesse of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies. As it is not unknowne to the eares of many, what he answered to the lieutenant being then in the tower. For when the lieutenants man upon a time came to him, the aged father kept without fier in the frostie winter, and well nigh starved for colde, merilie bad the man tell his master, "that if hee did not looke the better to him, perchance he would deceive him." The lieutenant hearing this, bethought himselfe of these words, and fearing least that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitlie to his prisoner, and so comming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before: how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him. "Yea master lieutenant, so I saide," quoth hee, "for you looke I thinke that I should burne: but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like heere to starve for colde."

Many such like answers and reasons, merrie, but savorie, comming not from a vaine minde, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firme and stable hart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threates, but rather deriding the same.

Thus master Latimer passing a long time in the tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford with doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canturbury, and master Ridley bishop of London, there to dispute

pute upon articles sent downe from Gardiner bishop at Winchester, the maner and order of which disputations betweene them and the universitie doctours, is hereafter sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer with his other fellowe prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and so committed againe to the prison, and there they continued from the moneth of Aprill, to the moneth of October: where they were most godlie occupied, either with brotherlie conference, or with fervent praier, or with fruitfull writing.

How Thomas Cranmer Archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and M. Latimer were sent downe to Oxford to dispute, with the order and manner, and all other circumstances unto the said disputation, and also to their condemnation, appertaining.

About the tenth of Aprill, 1554, Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also sometime of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the tower to Windsore; and after from thence to the universitie of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the universitie doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these; of Oxford, doctor Weston prolocutor, D. Tresham, D. Cole, D. Oglethorpe, D. Pie, M. Harpsfield, M. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, doctor Yong vice-chancellor, D. Glin, D. Seaton, D. Watson, D. Sedgewike, D. Atkinson, &c. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

1. Whether

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no?

2. Whether in the sacrament after the words of consecration, any other substance doe remaine, than the substance of the body and bloud of Christ.

3. Whether in the masse be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Touching the order and manner of all things there done, with the notes, arguments, and circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, first heere is to be understood, that upon Saturday the seaventh day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregate together, letters comming downe from Steven Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that should bee disputed uppon at Oxford; the contents of the which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Wherupon in the said congregation of the aforesaid universitie of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this forme proposed by the senior proctor; *Placeat vobis ut instrumentum fiat, quod horum iam prælectorum articulorum doctrina sana sit & catholica, atque cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei consentiens, & vestro consensu, & suffragiis comprobetur?* That is, may it please you to have an instrument made that the doctrine of these foresaid articles may be sound and catholike, and consonant with the veritie of the right-meaning faith, and that the same may be approoved by your consent and voices: Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that D. Yong being vice-chancellor, D. Glin, D. Atkinson, D. Scot, and M. Sedgewicke should goe to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canturburie, London and

Latimer:

Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seale: Item, another grace granted to M. Sedgewicke, to be actuall doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The forsaid letters being then drawne out, the third day after (which was the eleventh day of Aprill) were read in the foresaid congregation house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the twelfth of the said moneth) the foresaid doctors, with the full grace of that universitie, set forward to Oxford: and comming thither the next day after, (being Friday, the thirteenth of Aprill) were lodged all at the Crosse Inne, with one Wakecline, being sometime servant to bishop Boner.

Anon after their comming, D. Crooke presented them with wine for their welcome, and shortlie after, two of the bedles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine. After whom, next came M. Pie, and Feeknam to welcome them. Then after consultation concerning the deliverie of their letters and instrument of grace (which was in doctor Seton and doctor Watsons keeping), they went all to Lincolne colledge to doctor Weston the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor doctor Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters and graces. Halfe an houre after eight they returned to their inne againe: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon and convocation to be had the morow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should bee incorporate in the universitie of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the universitie of Cambridge. The same day the forenamed prisoners were dissevered,

doctor

doctor Ridley to alderman Irishes house, maister Latymer to another, and doctor Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the 14. of Aprill, at eight of the clock, the foresaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge with the other doctors of the same universitie, repaired to Lincolne college againe, and found the prolocutour above in a chappell, with the company of the house singing *Requiem* masse, and tarried there untill the end. Then they consulting all together in the maisters lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the universitie church called S. Maries: and there, after short consultation in a chappell, the vice-chauncellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice-chauncellor of Cambridge and the rest of the doctors of that universitie, to sende for their skarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, save that doctor Seton and Watson borowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation house, had graunted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there, and so they went up and were admitted immediately, D. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctour reading the statute, and giving them their othes.

That done, they came all into the quier, and there helde the convocation of the universitie. They had masse of the Holie Ghost solemnly sung in pricksong, by the quier men of Christs church. But first the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queene, and wherfore they were sent: and caused master Say the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, master Say for the con-

convocation, a bedle of Cambridge for that university, and one maister White for Oxford, should testifie of their doing; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation house at London and Cambridge; and so the vice-chauncellor began first, after him the rest of the Oxford men as many as could in the masse time.

The masse being done, they went in procession. First the quier in their surplices followed the crosse: then the first yeer regents and proctours: then the doctours of lawe, and their bedle before them: then the doctors of divinitie of both universities intermingled, the divinitie and arte bedles going before them, the vice-chauncellour and prolocutour going together. After them bachelers of divinitie, regents, and non regents, in their aray: and last of al, the bachelers of law and art. After whom followed a great companie of schollers and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the streete to Christs church, and there the quier sang a psalme, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many other to Lincolne colledge, where they dined with the maior of the towne, one alderman, foure bedles, maister Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to S. Maries church: and there after a short consultation in a chappell, all the commissioners came into the quier, and sate all on seates before the aultar, to the number of thirty three persons. And first, they sent to the maior, that he should bring in doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rustie bilmen.

Thus the reverend archbishop when he was brought before the commissioners, reverenced them with

with much humility, and stood with his staffe in his hand: who notwithstanding having a stoole offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor sitting in the middest in a skarlet gowne, began with a short preface or oration, in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ: declaring withall Cranmer's bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry, and had beene his counsellor and a catholicke man, one of the same unitie, and a member thereof in times past; but of late yeares did separate and cut off himselfe from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queenes grace, to send them of the convocation and other learned men to bring him to this unitie againe, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the convocation house had agreed upon certaine articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface verie wittily, modestly and learnedly, shewing that hee was verie glad of an unitie, forasmuch as it was *Conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Christianorm*, the preserver of al common-wealths, as wel of the Heathen, as of the christians: and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romanes commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was verie glad to come to an unitie; so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his ful mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to bee read unto him, and asked if hee would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canturburie did read them over three or foure times, and touching the first article he asked what they meant by these tearmes *verum & naturale*, true and naturall.

"Doe you not meane saith hee *Corpus organicum*, a sensible body?" Some answered, *Idem quod natus est ex virgine*, the same that was borne of the virgine; and so confusedly, some sayde one thing, some another. Then the bishop of Canturburie denied it utterlie, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false and against Gods holie word; and therefore would not agree, hee sayde, in that unitie with them. Which done, the prolocutor first willing him to write his minde of them that night, sayde moreover that he should dispute in them, and caused a copie of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Mondaie next; and so charged the maior with him againe, to bee had to Bocardo where he was kept before: offering moreover unto him, to name what Bookes he would occupie, and hee should have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every bodie for his modesty; in so much, that some masters of arte were seene to weep for him, which in judgement were contrary to him.

Then was doctor Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read unto him, answered without any delaie, saying, they were all false; and sayde further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sowre roote. His answers were sharpe, wittie, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made[8] when he was bishop of Rochester, wherin (they said) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirme with them the same. They could bring no proofe of it at all. After that, he

[8] *Sermon that he made.*] See Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 216, &c. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1298, 1596, &c.

was asked of one whether he desired not[9] my Lord Chancellor that now is, to sticke to the masse, and other things? he said, that my lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did, hee reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked whether he would dispute or no? Hee answered: that as long as God gave him life, hee should not onely have his heart, but also his mouth and penne to defend his truth: but he required time and bookes. They said he could not; and that he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have bookes. He said it was not reason that he might not have his owne bookes, and time also to looke for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bad him write his minde of them that night, and so did they command the maior to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in M. Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three cappes on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staffe in his hand, and was set in a chayre: for so was hee suffered by the prolocutor. And after his deniall of the articles, when he had Wednesdaie appointed for disputation, he alledged age, sicknesse, disuse, and lacke of bookes, saying that he was almost as meete to dispute as to be a captaine of Calice. But he would, he sayd, declare his minde eyther by writing or by word, and would stand to all that they could lay upon his backe; complayning moreover that hee was permitted to have neither penne nor inke, nor yet anie booke but onely the New Testament there in his hand, which he said hee had read over seven times deli-

9 *Whether he desired not.*] See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. ii. p. 68—70.

berately,

berately, and yet could not finde the masse in it, neither the marowbones nor sinewes of the same, At which wordes the commissioners were not a little offended, and D. Weston said, that he would make him graunt, that it had both marowbones and sinewes in the New Testament. To whom M. Latimer sayd againe; that you will never do M. Doctor; and so forthwith they put him to silence, so that where hee was desirous to tell what hee meant by those termes, he could not be suffered. There was a very great prease and throng of people: and one of the bedles swouned by reason thereof, and was caryed into the vestrie. After this, bringing home the prolocutour first, the Cambridge men, doctor Yong vice-chancellour, Seton, Glin, Atkinson, Scotte, Watson, and Sedgewicke, went to the Crosse Inne to supper. And this was on Saterdaie being the fourteenth day of Aprill.

On Sunday after, M. Harpsfield preached at S. Maries, the universitie church, at nine of the clocke, where were divers of the doctors of the universitie in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen colledge, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincolne colledge with the prolocutor; whither doctor Cranmer sent answere of his minde upon the articles in writing.

On Munday beeing the sixteenth of Aprill, maister Say, and M. White notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And about eight of the clocke the prolocutour with all the doctours and the vice-chancellour met together at Exceter college, and so they went into the schooles: and when the vice-chauncellour, the prolocutour, and doctours were placed, and foure appointed to be *Exceptores Argumentorum*, set at a table in the middest, and

foure notaries sitting with them, D. Cranmer came to the answerers place, the maior and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set a worke by the prolocutor with a short *præludium*. Doctor Chedsey began to argue first: and ere hee left, the prolocutour divers times, doctor Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshall, vice-chancellour, Pye, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and presse Cranmer with their arguments, so that every man sayde somewhat, as the prolocutour would suffer disorderly, sometime in Latine, sometime in English, so that three houres of the time was spent, ere the vice-chancellour of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or foure questions subtlely. Here the bedles had provided drinke, and offered the aunswerer: but he refused with thanks. Thus the disputation continued untill almost two of the clocke, with this applausion *Audientium; vicit veritas*. Then were all the arguments written by the foure appointed, delivered into the hand of maister Saie, register. And as for the prisoner, he was had away by the maior: and the doctors dined together at the universitie college.

And thus much concerning the generall order and maner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to inferre and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

The Arguments, Reasons, and Allegations used in this Disputation.

On Monday, D. Weston, with all the residue of the visitours, censors, and oppoñents, repayring to the

the divinitie schoole, each one enstalled themselves in their places. D. Cranmer with a route of rustie bils was brought thither, and set in the answerers place, with the maior and aldermen sitting by him. Where D. Weston prolocutor, apparelled in a skarlet gowne, after the custome of the universitie, began the disputation, with this oration. His words in Latin as hee spake them were these.

"*Convenistis hodie fratres profligaturi detestandamillam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento,* &c. that is: Yee are assembled hither brethren this day, to confound the detestable heresie of the veritie of the body of Christ in the sacrament, &c." At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unwares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weying the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though even in the entrance of the disputations, hee had betrayed himselfe[1] and his religion, that termed the opinion of the veritie of Christs bodie in the sacrament a detestable heresie. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call these questions into controversie: for such as doubted of the wordes of Christ, might well bee thought to doubt both of

[1] *Betrayed himselfe.*] Bishop Jewel, who was present at this disputation, in the capacity of notary to Cranmer, &c. gives the following account of this blunder of Weston's, in his controversy with Dr. Cole. "This I believe passed you unawares, and not of purpose. As your proloquutor in the disputation at Oxford, gave out one truth by chance unadvisedly, as he gave knowledge to the audience in the divinitie schoole of what matters they would dispute. For thus he said, *and that in your owne hearing*, "*Viri fratres, convenimus huc hodie*, &c. Brethren, said hee, we come hither this day to dispute against that horrible heresie, of the veritie of Christes bodie and blood in the sacrament." God would have him utter some truth then, as you do now, because he was *Pontifex illius anni.*" Jewel's works, p. 17.

the

the truth and power of God. Wherunto doctor Cranmer desiring licence, answered in this wise.

"Wee are assembled," saythe he," "to discusse these doubtfull controversies, and to laie them open before the eyes of the world: whereof yee thinke it unlawfull to dispute. It is indeede no reason, sayth hee, that wee should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth is tried. But if these questions be not called in controversie, surelie mine answere then is looked for in vaine." This was the summe and effect of his aunswere: and this done, he prepared himselfe to disputations.

Then Chedsey the first opponent began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend M. Doctour, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present to dispute upon.

"1. In the sacrament of the aultar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgine Mary, and also his bloud present really under the forms of bread and wine, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the priest.

"2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the masse, propitiatory as well for the quicke as the dead."

These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversie doth rest. Now to the end wee might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I tearm it your opinion, in that it disagreeth

disagreeth from the catholicke. Wherefore thus I argue.

Your opinion differeth from the Scripture.

Ergo, You are deceived."

Cranmer. "I denie the antecedent."

Ched. "Christ when hee instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples: *Take, eate, this is my bodie, which shall be given for you.*

But his true bodie was given for us:

Ergo, His true bodie is in the sacrament

The right forme of this argument is thus to be framed.

The same which was given for us is in the sacrament:

But his true bodie was given for us:

Ergo, His true bodies is in the sacrament."

Cran. "His true bodie is truely present to them that truely receive him: but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spirituall sort. For when he said, *This is my bōdy,* it is all one as if hee had sayd, this is the breaking of my bodie, this is the sheading of my bloud. As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my bodie, and the sheading of my bloud: that as truely as you receive this sacrament, so truely shall you receive the benefite promised by receiving the same worthily."

Ched. "Your opinion differeth from the church, which sayth, that the true bodie is in the sacrament.

Ergo, Your opinion therein is false."

Cran. "I say and agree with the church, that the bodie of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectuall."

Ched. "Christ when hee spake these words, *This is my bodie,* spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cran.

Cran. "I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the bodie of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I denie that hee is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organicall body." And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, hee delivered up there his opinion thereof to D. Weston written at large, with answers to everie one of their three propositions; which hee desired D. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people: which he promised to doe. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawne out as followeth.

An Explication of Cranmer upon the foresayd Conclusions exhibited in Writing.

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof riseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow so much as we may, the maner of speaking of the Scripture.

"In the first conclusion if ye understand by this word *(really) reipsa*, in verie deede and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacie of his passion is in deed and truely present to all his true and holy members.

"But if ye understand by this word *(really) corporaliter*, corporally, so that by the bodie of Christ is understanded a naturall bodie and organicall; so the first proposition dooth varie, not onely

onely from the usuall speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is cleane contrary to the holy word of God, and christian profession: when as both the Scripture dooth testifie by these words, and also the catholicke church hath professed from the beginning, Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgement.

"And likewise I answere to the second question: that is, that it swarveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

"The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seeme to import in open sense, it is most contumelious against our onely Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious bloud, which upon the altar of the crosse is the onely sacrifice and oblation for the sinnes of all mankinde."

Ched. "By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the bodie of Christ to be in the sacrament onely by way of participation: in so much as wee communicating thereof, doe participate the grace of Christ, so that you meane hereby onely the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appeare by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand yeares after Christ.

"And first to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in Math. 26. Marke 14. Luke 22. first to the Corinthians, 11. Mathew sayth, *As they sate at supper, Jesus tooke bread, &c.* In Marke there is the same sense, although not the same words; who also for one part of the sacrament

sacrament speaketh more plainely, *Jesus taking bread, &c.* After the same sense also writeth Luke 22. *And when Jesus had taken bread, &c.* In the mouth of two or three witnesses saith the Scripture, standeth all truth. "Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his bodie which was given for manie: and that to be his bloud which should be shead for manie: whereby is declared the substance and not only the efficacie alone thereof. *Ergo*, it is not true that you say there to be not the substance of his bodie, but the efficacie alone thereof."

Cran. "Thus you gather upon mine answere, as though I did meane of the efficacie, and not of the substance of the bodie: but I meane of them both, as well of the efficacie as the substance. And for so much as all things come not readilie to memorie, to a man that shall speake *extempore*, therefore for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I doe exhibite."

An Explication exhibited by Cranmer.

"Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy [2], preparing himselfe to die for our cause, that he might redeeme us from eternall death, to forgive us all our sinnes, and to cancell out the handwriting that was against us: that we through ingratefull oblivion should not forget his death, therefore he at the time of his holie supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among christians in bread and wine, according as it is sayd, *Do this in remem-*

[2] *Of his Maunday.*] A copy of this paper, in the origina Latin, is preserved in Collier's *Ecclesiast. History*, vol. ii. p. 82. Records.

brance

brance of mee. And so often as you shall eate this bread and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lords death till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slaine, and bloud shead, he would all christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said: *Take, eate:* and *drinke ye all of this.* Therefore, whosoever for mans tradition denieth the cup of Christes bloud to lay men, they manifestly repugne against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commaundeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisies, of whom the Lord spake: *Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commaundements of God for your traditions. Well did Esay prophecy of you, saying: This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is farre from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.* The sacrament and mysticall bread, being broken and distributed after the insitution of Christ, and the mysticall wine being likewise taken and received, be not onely sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blodshedding, but also be most certaine sacraments to us, and (as a man would say) seales of Gods promises and giftes, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly foode and nourishment wherewith we are nourished unto eternall life, and the thirst of our boyling conscience quenched; and finally whereby the hearts of the faithfull be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godlinesse. *Wee are many* (saythe S. Paul) *one bread and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup.* And Christ saith, *Eate ye, this is my body.* And *drinke yee, this is my bloud.* And *I*

am

am the living bread which came downe from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for me. Not as your fathers did eate manna in the desert and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for me.

"Thus therfore true bread and true wine remaine still in the Eucharist, untill they be consumed of the faithfull, to be signes and as seales unto us annexed unto Gods promises, making us certaine of Gods gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eate his flesh, and drinke his bloud, as Christ himself hath promised; *They that eate my flesh and drinke my bloud abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthilie receive the outward sacrament, neither doth he depart so soone as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remaine bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the naturall bodie of Christ, which is only spirituall, intelligible, and unsensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that bodie onely I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the forme and shape and parts of the true naturall bodie of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertaine substance, but of the certaine substance of bread, which hee then held in his hands, and shewed his disciples, when he said: *Eate yee, this is my bodie:* and likewise of the cup, when he said: *Drink yee, this is my bloud:* meaning verily of that bread which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of manie grains together, made by man, and by mans hand brought to that visible shape, beeing of round compasse, and without all sense or life, which

which nourisheth the bodie, and strengtheneth the heart of man. Of this same bread (I say) and not of anie uncertaine and wandring substance the olde fathers say that Christ spake these words. *Eate yee, this is my bodie.* And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruite of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh mans hart merry, of the very same wine, (I say) Christ spake, *drinke yee, this is my bloud.* And so the olde doctors doe call this speaking of Christ tropicall, figurative, anagogicall, allegoricall: which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine doe remaine and be received of the faithfull, yet notwithstanding Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his bloud, not that it is so in very deede, but signified in a mysterie. So that we should consider, not what they be in their owne nature, but what they import to us and signifie; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect onelie to the outward bread, and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes, no other things but onely bread and wine, but that lifting up our mindes wee should looke up to the bloud of Christ with our faith, should touche him with our minde, and receive him with our inward man, and that beeing like eagles in this life, we should flie up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lambe is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sinnes of the world, by whose stripes wee are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose bloud we receiving out of his holie side do live for ever, being made the ghests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace

grace of his true nature, and through the vertue and efficacie of his whole passion, being no lesse assured and certified that wee are fed spiritually unto eternall life by Christs flesh crucified, and by his bloud shead, the true foode of our mindes, then that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this sayd mysticall bread on the table of Christ, and the mysticall wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seale.

"And thereof is it that Christ saith not thus; *This is my body, eate ye:* but after he had bidden them eate, then he said; *This is my body which shall be given for you.* Which is to meane, as though he should say: in eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mysticall matter, neither doe you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and beholde my body crucified for you; that eate and digest in your mindes. Chawe you upon my passion, bee fed with my death. This is the true meate, this is the drinke that moisteneth, wherwith you being truly fed, and inebriate, shall live for ever. The bread and the wine which be set before your eies are only declarations of me, but I my selfe am the eternall food. Wherfore whensoever at this my table you shal behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is my selfe to be meate for you of eternall life.

"The onely oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himselfe to God the Father once to death upon the aultar of the crosse for our redemption) was of such efficacie, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world,

but all the sacrifices of the olde lawe he took away, performing that in very deede, which they did signifie and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fixe the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the bloud of Christ. *For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheepe have wandred astray. Every man hath turned after his owne waie, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For hee hath entred once for all into the holy place by the bloud, not of goates or calves, but by his owne bloud, finding eternall redemption:* And *hath entered into heaven, to appeare now in the sight of God for us, not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffred many times) but now hath hee appeared once to put awaie sinne, through his owne oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: Who offering up one oblation for sinnes, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God: For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified.* For *where is remission of sinnes, there is now no more oblation for sinne,* but this onelie sacrifice of Christ. Whosever shall seeke any other sacrifice propitiatory for sinne, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validitie, force or efficacie. For if it bee sufficient to remit sinnes, what neede is there of any other? For the necessitie of another, argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almightie God grant that we may truly leane to one sacrifice of Christ, and that wee to him againe may repay our sacrifices of thankesgiving, of prayse, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulnesse towards our neighbors, and of all other good works of charitie. For by such sacrifices wee shall

shall declare our selves neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

" And thus you have out of the testimonies of holie Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lords holy supper, and the fruite of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which whosoever through captious or wrested interpretations, or by mens traditions, shall goe about otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the bodie and bloud of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternall life hee hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himselfe."

West. " Because wee will not consume and spende the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibite, hereafter shall bee read in his place. In the meane season let us now fall to the argument."

This disordered disputation sometime in Latine, sometime in English, continued almost till two of the clocke. Which being finished, with the words of Weston the prolocutor, " Thus you see brethren the trueth stedfast and invincible: you see also the craft and deceit of heretickes: the trueth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, *Vincit veritas*, The truth overcommeth." And the arguments written and delivered to the hands of M. Say, the prisoner was hadde away by the Maior, and the doctors dined together at the universitie college.

Disputation

Disputation at Oxford betweene Doctor Smith, with his other Colleagues, and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley.

The next day following, which was the 17th of Aprill, was brought forth doctor Ridley to dispute, against whome was set Doctor Smith to be principall opponent. Touching which Doctor Smith, forsomuch as mention heere happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgment in religion, which so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firme conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted [8] may appeare, and also by his owne letter sent a little before in king Edwards dayes to the archbishop of Canturburie from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibite as a certaine preface before his owne arguments, or rather as a testimonie against himselfe, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them, and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Reade, I beseech thee, his epistle, and judge.

"Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your Grace in Januarie last, and the tenth day of February, declaring the causes of my sodaine and unadvised departing from your

[8] *Articles by him recanted.*] See "A playne declaration, made at Oxforde, the 24th of July, by mayster Richard Smith, D. D. upon his retractation made and published at Pauls Crosse in London, May 15, 1547." 12mo. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 171. *Eccles. Memor.* vol. ii. p. 35.

Grace over the sea, and desiring your good lordship of your charitie toward them that repent of of their ill acts, to forgive me your selfe all the wrong I did towards your Grace, and to obtaine in writing the kings majesties pardon for mee in all pointes concerning his lawes: upon the receite whereof I would returne againe home, and within halfe a yeare (at the uttermost) afterward write, *de Sacerdotum connubiis*, &c. a Latine booke that should be a just satisfaction for any that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra, tum demum libenter amplexurum, ubi deus mentem meam, ut ea citra conscientiæ lasionem agnoscam, docuamque.* I wrote not this that I want any good living heere; but because mine absence out of the realme is dishonour to the kings highnesse and realme, and because I must needes (if I tarry heere a quarter of a yeere longer) write an answere to your Graces booke of the sacrament, and also a booke of Common Places against all the doctrine set forth by the Kings majestie, which I cannot doe with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your Grace helpe me home, as soone as yee may conveniently for Gods sake, and yee shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

Ex urbe divi Andreæ 14 Feb.
Richardus Smitheus."

And thus much touching the forenamed doctor Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against bishop Ridley, who was brought now the next day after the archbishop, to aunswere in the divinitie Schoole. Against whom also besides doctor Smith, disputed D. Weston, D. Tresham, D. Oglethorp, D. Glin, D. Seton, and D. Cole, M. Warde, M. Harpesfield, D. Watson, M. Pie, M. Harding, M. Curtop, M. Feecknam. To all them he

he answered verie learnedly. Hee made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an ende of the same, and sayde it was blasphemie, and some said he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose, and so they woulde not suffer him to say his minde. D. Smith could get nothing at his hand: insomuch that other did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He shewed himselfe to be learned, and a great clearke. They could bring nothing, but he knewe it as well as they.

The Disputation beginneth.

West. Prolocutor. "Good christian people and brethren, wee have begunne this day our schoole, by Gods good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversie, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the veritie of the bodie of our Lord Jesu Christ in the Eucharist. Christ is true, which sayd the wordes. The words are true which hee spake, yea truth it self that cannot faile. Let us therefore pray unto God to send downe unto us his holy spirite, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errours, and give light, that verite may appeare. Let us also aske leave and libertie of the church to permit the truth received, to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your partes therefore shall be to implore the assistance of Almightie God, to pray for the prosperitie of the queenes majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive eares. Now go to your question."

Doct. Smith. "This day (right learned M. Doctor) three questions are propounded, whereof no

controversie among christians ought to mooved, to wit:

1. "Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgine Marie, and offered for mans redemption upon the crosse, is verily and really in the sacrament by vertue of Gods word spoken by the priest, &c.

"2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

3. "Whether in the masse be a sacrifice propitiatorie, &c.

"Touching the which questions, although you have publikely and partly professed your judgement and opinion on Saturday last: yet being not satisfied with that your answere, I will assaie againe to demaund your sentence in the first question: *Whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the Eucharist, or else onely the figure.* In which matter I stand here now to hear your answere."

The Preface or Protestation of D. Ridley, before his Disputation.

"I received of you the other day right worshipfull M. Prolocutor, and ye my reverend maisters, commissioners from the queenes majestie, and her honourable counsaile, three propositions: whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to aunswere concerning the same.

"Now whilest I weied with my selfe, how great a charge of the Lords flocke was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render

render an accompt to my Lord God, (and that how soone, hee knoweth) and that moreover by the commandement of the Apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekenesse and reverence, unto everie one that shall demaund the same: besides this, considering my duetie to the church of Christ, and to your worships being commissioners by publike authoritie: I determined with my selfe to obey your commaundement, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the foresaid propositions. And albeit plainely to confesse unto you the truth in these things which ye now demaund of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soule, I lie not) I have not altered my judgement, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or lawes, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity: but only for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perswaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the antient fathers.

" These thinges I doe the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to mee; I meane, if yee thinke otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions, than I now doe, God may open them unto you in time to come.

" But howsoever it shall bee, I will in fewe wordes doe that which I thinke ye all looke I should doe: that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgement herein. Howbeit of this I would yee were not ignorant, and I will not indeede wittingly and willingly speake in any point against Gods word, or dissent in any one jote from the same, or from the rules

rules of faith, and christain religion: which rules the same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit my selfe, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is waighty, and ye all well know how unreadie I am to handle it accordingly, aswell for lacke of time, as also lacke of bookes: therefore here I protest that I will publickly this day require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concerning all mine answeres, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminish whatsoever shall seeme hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, thorough more sound judgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of everie particular thing. Having now by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these fewe wordes, I will come to the aunswering of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answeres."

West. "Reverend maister doctor, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cause why you should complaine. What bookes soever you will name, ye shall have them: and as concerning the judgement of your answeres to be had of your self with farther deliberation, it shall, (I say) be lawfull for you untill Sunday next to adde unto them what you shall thinke good your selfe. My minde is that wee should use short arguments, least we should make an infinite processe of the thing."

Rid. "There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtaine at your handes. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published[9], I beseech you for Gods sake let mee have libertie

[9] *Shall be published*] However this might be intended by the Romish party, yet the design was never executed; for reasons

libertie to speake my minde freelie, and without interruption, not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemne preface, but least it may appeare that some bee not satisfied. God wote I am no oratour, nor I have not learned Rhetoricke to set colours on the matter."

West. "Among this whole companie, it shal be permitted you to take two for your part."

Rid. "I would chuse two, if there were any heere with whome I were acquainted."

West. "Here are two [1] which maister Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Rid. "I am content with them: I trust they are honest men."

The first Proposition.

In the sacrament of the altar, by the vertue of Gods word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ borne of the Virgine Marie, and his naturall bloud is really present under the formes of bread and wine.

The Answere of N. Ridley.

"In matters appertaining to God, we may not speake according to the sense of man, nor of the

sons which it requires no Œdipus to conjecture. They were challenged by the Protestants to make them public. "And yet for all this, I warrant you they be not hasty in puttyng forth the disputations in print. As much as they bragge, I dare saye they will never put them forth." *Trewe Mirrour, wherein we may beholde the wofull State of thys our Realme of England*, A. D. 1556. [1] Signat. A 4. b.

[1] *Here are two.*] "These two Notaries were M. Juell, sometime bishop of Salisburie, and M. Gilbert Mounson." Fox's Margin.

world.

world. This poposition or conclusion is framed after an other maner of phrase or kinde of speech, than the Scripture useth. Againe, it is verie obscure and darke, by meanes of sundrie wordes of doubtfull signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolemen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plaine contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlinesse."

The Explication.

"How far the diversitie and newnessee of the phrase in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and that in everie part almost, it is so plaine and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of mee hereafter.

"First, There is a double sense in these wordes (*by the vertue of Gods word.*) For it is doubtfull what word of God this is: whether it be that which is read in the Evangelists, or in Paule, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Evangelists or in S. Paule what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowne to be Gods word, and of such vertue, that it should be able to worke so great a matter.

"Againe, There is a doubt in these words (*of the priest*) whether no man may be called a priest, but hee which hath authority to make propitiatorie sacrifice for the quick and the dead: and how it may be proved that this authoritie was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedech. For

as farre as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no mo."

West. "Let this be sufficient."

Rid. "If we lacke time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."

West. "These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vaine."

Rid. "I cannot start far from you, I am captive and bound."

West. "Fall to it my maisters."

Smith. "That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."

Rid. "Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to say behinde."

West. "Goe forward."

Rid. "Moreover, there is ambiguitie in this word *really*, whether it be to be taken as the logicians tearme it, *transcendenter*, that is, most generally (and so it may signifie any maner of thing which belongeth to the bodie of Christ, by any meanes: after which sort we also graunt Christs bodie to be really in the sacrament of the Lords Supper, as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signifie the verie same thing, having bòdy, life and soule, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unitie of person. In which sense, sithe the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to bee here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulnesse in these words, *under the formes of bread and wine*, whether the formes be there taken to signifie the onely accidentall and outwarde shewes of bread and wine; or therewithall the substantiall natures thereof, which are to bee seene by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses.

"Now the error and falsenes of the proposition,

tion, after the sense of the Romish church and schoolemen, may hereby appeare, in that they affirme the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh, assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by the vertue of the word, which they have devised by a certaine number of words, and cannot be found in any of the Evangelists, or in Paule, and so they gather that Christes bodie is really contained in the sacrament of the aultar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of transubstantion: which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogie or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresie of the sacramentaries."

West. "Wee lose time."

Rid. "You shall have time enough."

West. "Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

Rid. "I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."

West. "Go to: say on."

The Confirmation of the foresaid Answere.

"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities, that cannot be avoided,

"But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

"*Ergo*, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

"The major or first part of my argument is plaine,

plaine, and the minor or second part is proved thus.

" This doctrine maintaineth a reall, corporall, and carnall presence of Christes flesh, assumed and taken of the word to be in the sacrament of the Lords supper, and that not by vertue and grace onely, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

" But such a presence disagreeth from Gods word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

" *Ergo*, the second part is true.

" The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus."

West. " Thus you consume time, which might bee better bestowed on other matters. Maister Opponent, I pray you to your arguments.".

Smith. " I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrarie to the rule and analogy of faith. The contrarie whereof I proove by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demaund first whether in the sixth chapter of John, there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Rid. " It is against reason that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speake in this assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprended in few words."

West. " Let him read on."

Rid. " First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

" Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

" Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper.

Fourthly,

" Fourthly, it maketh pretious thinges common to prophane and ungodly persons: for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearles unto swine.

" Fifthly, it forceth men to maintaine many monstrous miracles, without necessitie, and authoritie of Gods word.

" Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretickes which erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defende their heresies thereby.

" Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayinges of the godly fathers: it falsifieth also the catholicke faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retaine and keepe untill this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

The Probation of the antecedent or former Part of this Argument by the Parts thereof.

" This carnall presence is contrarie to the word of God, as appeareth, (John 16.) *I tell you the truth. It is profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away, the comforter shall not come unto you.* (Acts 3.) *Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken.* (Math. 9.) *The children of the bridegrome cannot mourne so long as the bridegrome is with them: but now is the time of mourning* (John 16.) *But I will see you againe, and your hearts shall rejoice* (John 14.) *I will come againe and take you to my selfe* (Math. 24.) *If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, beleeve them not: for wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither the eagles will resort.*

" It

" It varieth from the articles of the faith: *Hee ascendea into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. From whence* (and not from any other place, saith S. Augustine), *he shall come to judge both the quicke and the dead.*

" It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued untill the Lord himselfe should come. If therefore he bee be now really present in the bodie of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference betweene remembrance and presence, and (as one of the fathers saith) A figure is in vaine where the thing figured is present.

" It maketh pretious things common to prophane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confesse many absurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murtherers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithlesse, mise, rattes, and dogges also may receive the verie reall and corporall bodie of the Lord, wherein the fulnesse of the spirite of light and grace dwelleth: contrarie to the manifest words of Christ in sixe places and sentences of the sixt chapter of S. John.

" It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kinde of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of mans flesh: for it is a more cruell thing to devoure a quicke man than to slay him."

Pie. " He requireth time to speake blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Rid. " I had little thought to have had such reprochfull words at your hands."

West. " All is quiet. Go to the arguments M. doctor."

Rid. " I have not many mo things to say."

West.

West. "You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off (I say) and get you to the argument."

Rid "It forceth men to maintaine many monstrous miracles, without all necessitie and authoritie of Gods word. For at the comming of this presence of the bodie and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirme that the accidentes remaine without any subject, and in the stead thereof, they place Christes bodie without his qualities and the true maner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long untill it mould, and wormes breede, some say that the substance of bread myraculously returneth againe, and some denie it. Other some affirme that the reall bodie of Christ goeth downe into the stomacke of the receivers, and doth there abide so long onely as they shall continue to be good: but another sorte holde that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soone as the formes of bread be brused with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truely and most truely I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof, S. Paul propheeied (2 Thess. 2.) *Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should beleeve lies, and be all damned which have not beleeved the truth.* This gross presence hath brought forth that fond phantasie of concomitance, whereby is broken at this daie and abrogated the commandement of the Lord for the distributing of the Lordes cup to the laitie.

"It giveth occasion to heretickes to maintaine and defende their errours: as to Marcion, which saide that Christ had but a phantasticall bodie; and to Eutiches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

"Finally,

"Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholick faith of the church, which Vigilius a martyr, and grave writer saith was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the bloud of martyrs, and was continually maine-tained by the faithfull, untill his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justine, Irenee, Tertullian, Origene, Eusebius, Emisene, Athana-sius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Hierome, Chrysostome, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read, making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same, if I might have the use of mine owne bookes[3], which I will take on mee to doe, even upon the perill of my life, and losse of all that I may lose in this world.

"But now (my brethren) thinke not, because I disallow that presence which this first proposition

[3] *Mine owne bookes.*] The books which Ridley here, and and in the beginning of this disputation, complains of being in want of, were his own manuscript collections, and common place books; of which he thus speaks more at large in his conferences with master Latimer. "All my notes, which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter," (of the church), "and such like, are come into the handes of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written bookes; wherein I am enforced to complayne of them unto God, for they spoile me of all my labours, which I have taken in my studye these many yeares. My memorie was never good; for helpe whereof, I have used for the most part, to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them, when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poore learn-ing I had (as me thought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learne onely to knowe with Paul, Christ and him crucified." *Conferences of Ridley and Latimer.* Signat. C 8. edit. 1574, or Fox's *Acts*, p. 1561.

maintaineth

maintaineth as a presence which I take to be forged, fantasticall, and besides the authoritie of Gods word, pernitiously brought into the church by the Romanistes) that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christes body in his supper rightly and duely ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plaine by the commentaries of the faithfull fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how farre they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in fewe words declare what true presence of Christes body in the sacrament of the Lords supper I hold and affirme, with the word of God and the auncient fathers.

" I say and confesse with the Evangelist Luke, and with the Apostle Paule, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembraunce of him and of his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithfull untill his comming.

" I say and confesse the bread which we breake to be the communion and partaking of Christes bodie, with the auncient faithfull fathers.

" I say and beleeve that there is not onely a signification of Christes bodie set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithfull, the grace of Christes body, that is, the foode of life and immortalie. And this I hold with Cyprian.

" I say also with S. Augustine, that we eate life, and we drinke life: with Emisene, that we feele the Lord to be present in grace: with Athanasius, that we receive celestiall foode, which commith from above: the propertie of naturall communion, with Hillarius: the nature of flesh and the benediction which giveth life in bread and wine, with Cyrill: and with the same Cyrill, the vertue of the verie flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body,

body, the propertie of the onely begotten, that is to say, life, as he himself in plaine words expoundeth it.

" I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical Advent and comming of Christ, grace, and the vertue of his verie nature: the sacrament of his verie flesh, with Ambrose: the body by grace, with Epiphanius: spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Hierome: grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirit, with Chrysostome; grace and invisible veritie, grace and societie of the members of Christes body, with Augustine.

" Finally, with Bertram (which was the last of all these) I confesse that Christes bodie is in the sacrament in this respect; namely (as hee writeth) because there is in it the spirite of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not onely feedeth the soule, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearely appeare unto all men, how farre we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsly to slander us to the world, saying wee teach that the godly and faithfull should receive nothing els, at the Lords table, but a figure of the body of Christ."

The second Proposition.

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, then the substance of God and man.

The Answere.

" The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the

godly fathers: and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and of the third. I will not therfore now tarie upon any further explication of this answere, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answere of the first proposition.

The first Argument for the Confirmation of this Aunswere.

It is verie plaine by the worde of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

" But the substance of bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christs body, God and man:

" Therefore the conclusion is false.

" The second part of mine argument is plaine, and the first is prooved thus:

The second Argument.

" That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thankes, and the which he did brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his bodie:

" But he tooke bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread:

Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyrill, Rabanus, and Bede. Whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalfe, if I may be suffered to have my bookes, as my request is.

Th

The third Argument.

" As the bread of the Lords table is Christes naturall bodie, so is it his mysticall body.

" But it is not Christes mysticall body by transubstantiation.

" *Ergo*, It is not his naturall body by transubstantiation.

" The second part of my argument is plaine, and the first is prooved thus: As Christ who is the veritie, spake of the bread, *This is my body which shal be betraied for you*, speaking there of his natural body; even so Paule mooved with the same spirit of truth, said, *Wee though we be many, yet are wee all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.*

The fourth Argument.

" We may no more beleeve bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his bloud.

" But the wine is not transubtsantiate into his bloud:

" *Ergo*, neither is that bread therefore transubstantiate into his bodie.

" The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second part is prooved out of the authoritie of Gods word in Mathew and Marke: *I will not drink of the fruite of the vine*, &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drinke. With this sentence agreeth plainely the place of Chrysostome on the xx chapter of Mathew. As Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no bloud, if wine be not in the cup.

The fift Argument.

" The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

" But the words spoken upon the cup have not vertue to transubstantiate :

" *Ergo*, it followeth that the words spoken upon the bread, have no such vertue.

" The second part of the argument is prooved, because they should then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the New Testament: but neither of these things can bee done, and very absurde it is to confesse the same.

The sixth Argument.

" The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogie and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimonie of the faithfull fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scriptures touching the sacrament.

" But the words of the Lords supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogie of the sacraments, and the saying of the fathers doe most effectually and plainely proove a figurative speech in the wordes of the Lords supper.

" *Ergo*, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to bee received in these words: *This is my bodie.*

" The circumstances of the Scripture: *Doe this in the remembrance of mee. As oft as yee shall eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, yee shall shewe forth the Lordes death. Let a man proove himselfe, and so eate of this breade, and drinke of this cup. They came together to breake bread: and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which*

which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one bodie, &c.

" The analogie of the sacraments is necessarie: for if the sacramentes had not some similitude or likenesse of the things whereof they be sacraments, they coulde in no wise bee sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lords supper, is taken three maner of wayes.

1. " The first consisteth in nourishing, as ye shall read in Rabane, Cyprian, Augustine, Irence, and most plainly in Isidore out of Bertram.

" 2. The second, in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

" 3. The third is a similitude of unlike thinges, where, like as the bread is turned into one bodie, so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

" The sayinges of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome, *in opere imperfecto*, Augustine, Ambrose, Basill, Gregorie, Nazianzene, Hilary, and most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayinges and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, doe quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all other, most evidently and plainly, Irence, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostome to Cesarius the Monke, Augustine against Adamantus, Gelasius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Chrysostome againe on the xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damascene and Bertram.

" Here right worshipfull M. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not leane to these thinges onely, which I have written in my former answeres and confirmations, but that I have also for the proofe of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram,

a man

a man learned, of sound and upright judgement, and ever counted a catholicke for these seven hundreth yeares untill this our age, hath written. His treatise whosoever shall reade and wey, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godlinesse of life, the allegations of the auncient fathers, and his manifolde and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtlesse) but much marvell, if he have any feare of God at all, how hee can with good conscience speake against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first [3] that pulled mee by the eare,

[3] *This Bertram was the first*] See Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 165, 173. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 257. It is supposed, that Ridley first met with this book in the year 1545, or 1546. Dr. Glocester Ridley, after giving a description of its contents, proceeds to make the following very just and valuable observations. "Few books have drawn after them such salutary consequences as this has done. This first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the Scriptures in this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers, who lived before the time of this controversy betwixt Bertram and Paschasius. And how zealous soever Cranmer might be for transubstantion, and how dangerous soever it might be to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honestly communicated his discoveries and scruples to his good friend and patron the archbishop; who knowing the sincerity of the man, and his cool judgment, gave a more open ear to him, than he had formerly done to Joachim Vadianus, when he wrote to him on this subject from Germany; and was prevailed upon to examine this doctrine with the utmost care. The event was the conviction of both of them. *This was the great and important point of the Reformation in doctrine. This was laying the axe to the root of the tree*; for as Cranmer expresses himself, "the taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, and such like popery, was but lopping off a few branches; which would soon spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass were pulled up." And this he acknowledges was owing to conference with Dr. Ridley, who by sundry persuasions, and authorities of doctors drew him quite from his old opinion. And in the following year, by Cranmer's means, old Latimer was brought to

eare, and that first brought me from the common errour of the Romish church, and caused me to searche more diligently and exactly, both the Scriptures and the writinges of the old ecclesiasticall fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speake.

The third Proposition.

In the masse is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiable and availeable for the sins, as well of the quicke as of the dead.

to a conviction of the same truth." P. 169. The progress of the Reformation, as to a considerable part of it, is thus described by a zealous and eloquent adversary. "The Arians, to be short, and not the Arians only, but all other kinde of miscreaunts, misbeleevers, and heretiques (for the moste parte) intendyng to induce and bring in, the highest herisie of all, they used commonly to make inuduction thereunto by other meaner matiers. And hath not the like practise been used of late years here with us also? Have not our new Christians, intending at lengthe to shoote at the highest marke of all shotte first at the lower markes? Yes certainly. For first butted they at holie water, at holie bread, at ashes, at palme, at tenebringe, at knockynge, at knelyng, and other lyke lytle ceremonies. Then roaved they abrode at verities unwrytten, at doctoures expositions, at mans traditions, at prescripte meates, at fastyng dayes, at holie daves, at praying dayes, at bodilie service, and at such other meane matiers, as uncertaine markes. Afterwarde pricked they full, and wholly, most blasphemously at the cross of Christ, at the image of Christ, at the sainctes of Christ, at the mother of Christ, at the spouse of Christe, at the sacrifice of Christ, at the sacramentes of Christ; and therein at last at the most precionse body and bloud of Christ, *as the highest marke of al*, the chiefest mistery of our faith, and the greatest comfort man hath in al this mortal life." Sermon at Pauls Cross, Novemb. 12. (1553) by James Brokes, D. D. and Master of Baliol College. Signat. E 4.

The

The aunswere to this Proposition.

" I answere to this third proposition, as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the wordes seeme to import, it is not onely erronious, but withall so much to the derogation and defacing of the deathe and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious bloud of our Saviour Christ.

The Explication.

" Concerning the Romish masse which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and avaylable for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

" There is ambiguitie also in the name of masse, what it signifieth, and whether at this day there bee any such indeed as the auncient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither *Catechistes* nor *pœnitentes* to be sent away.

" Againe touching these wordes (*the lively sacrifice of the church*), there is doubt whether they are to be understand figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we denie it not to bee in the Lords supper) or properly and without any figure; of the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the aultar of the crosse.

" Moreover, in these words (*as well as*) it may bee doubted whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant

ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: being apt indeede in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the worde *(propitiable)* whether it signifie here, that which taketh away sinne, or that which may be made availeable[4] for the taking away of sin: that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

"Now the falsenes of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolemen and the Romish church, and impietie in that sense which the words seeme to importe, is this: that they leaning to the foundation and their fond transubstantiation, would make the quicke and lively bodie of Christs flesh (united and knit to the divinitie) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shewes of bread and wine. Which is verie false, as I have sayd afore: and they building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings to put away the sins of the quick and the dead, whereas by the apostle to the Hebrewes it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice, of the church offered upon the aultar of the crosse, which was, is, and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sinne.

4 *Made availeable.*] The wordes in Latin are, "an quod potest reddi propitium;" and therefore, the translation does not reach the sense of the original. The meaning of the clause is, "whether it signify here, that which propitiates, or that which may be propitiated; that is to say, *whether it is to be taken in the active*, &c."

Arguments

Arguments confirming his Answere.

" No sacrifice ought to be done but where the priest is meet to offer the save.

" All other priests be unmeete to offer sacrifice propitiatorie for sinne, save onely Christ:

" *Ergo*, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sinne, but Christ alone.

" The second part of my argument is thus prooved.

" No honour in Gods church ought to be taken, whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.

" It is a great honour in Gods church to sacrifice for sinne:

" *Ergo*, No man ought to sacrifice for sinne, but onely they which are called.

" But only Christ is called to that honour.

" *Ergo*, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sinne. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident: for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God; namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end by reason that it was unprofitable, and weak, and of the order of Melchisedech there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, which hath a priesthood that cannot passe to any other. '

An Argument.

" That thing is in vain and to no effect, where no necessitie is wherefore it is done.

" To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick and the dead, there is no necessitie, for Christ

Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

"*Ergo*, to doe the same in the masse, it is in vaine."

Another Argument.

"After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same:

"But Christ comming an high bishop, &c. found and obtayned for us eternall redemption:

"*Ergo*, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead."

Another Argument.

"All remission of sinnes commeth onely by shedding of bloud.

"In the masse, there is no shedding of bloud.

"*Ergo*, in the masse there is no remission of sinnes: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatorie sacrifice.

Another Argument.

"In the masse the passion of Christ is not in veritie, but in a mystery, representing the same: yea even there where the Lords supper is duely ministered.

"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in veritie: for the apostle saith, *Not that he might offer up himselfe oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes sith the beginning of the world)* now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatorie sacrifice.

"*Ergo*, in the masse there is no propitiatorie sacrifice; *For Christ appeared once in the latter end*

end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then commeth the judgement; even so Christ was once offered to take away the sinnes of many. And unto them that looke for him, shall hee appeare again without sinne, unto salvation."

Another Argument.

"Where there is any sacrifice that can make the commers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any mo expiatorie and propitiatorie sacrifices.

"But in the New Testament there is one onely sacrifice now alreadie long since offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for ever.

"*Ergo*, in the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any moe propitiatorie sacrifices."

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same Ende and Purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments, for more Confirmation thereof.

"*By the which will* (saith the apostle) *we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all.* And in the same place; *But this man after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himselfe hath he purged our sinnes.* I beseech you to marke these words *(by himselfe)* the which well wayed, will without doubt cease all controversie.

"The

"The apostle plainely denyeth any other sacrifice to remaine for him that treadeth under his feete the bloud of the testament by the which he was made holie. Christ will not be crucified againe, he will not his death to be had in derision.

"*He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.* Marke I beseech you, he saith not, in the mysterie of his bodie; but in the body of his flesh.

"*If any man sinne, we have an advocate with the father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, not for ours only, but for the sinnes of the whole world.*

"I knowe that all these places of the scripture are avoyded by two maner of subtile shiftes: the one is by the distinction of the bloudie and unbloudie sacrifice, as though our unbloudy sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thankesgiving, than a commemoration, a shewing forth, and a sacramentall representation of that one only bloudy sacrifice offered up once for all.

"The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the auncient fathers unto such a strange kinde of sense, as the fathers themselves indeede never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which Saint Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth booke against Faustus, the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emisene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholy concord and agree together in this unitie in the Lord, that the redemption once made in veritie for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lords death and passion is as effectuall,

effectuall, the vertue of that bloud, once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sinnes, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice which is frequented of the church, in the Lords supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thankes, and in remembring and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the aultar of the crosse; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mysterie, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

"These are the things (right worshipfull M. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three foresaid propositions; being destitute of all helpe in this shortnesse of time, sodaine warning, and want of bookes. Wherefore I appeale to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the helpe of the same (as much as may be) to be graunted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruell sentence against me, I do here appeale (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgement of some other superiour, competent, and lawfull judge, and that acording to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confesse that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realme. But if this appeale may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I flie (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternall judge, that is, of the almightie God, to whose most mercifull justice towards his, and most just mercifulnes, I do wholly commit my selfe and all my cause, nothing at all despayring of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour, Jesus Christ,

Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the holy Spirit, the sanctifier of us all, be now, and for ever, all honour and glorie, Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then readie, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced; I thought heere the place not unmeete to annexe the same together with the rest. Now let us heare the arguments[5] and aunsweres betweene doctour Smith and him.

The Disputation had at Oxford the 18th Day of April, 1554, betweene M. Hugh Latimer Answerer, and M. Smith and other Opposers.

After these disputations of Bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out Master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day of April. Which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before; but it was most in English. For Master Latimer the answerer alledged that he was out of use with the Latine, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him M. Smith of Oriall college, doctor Cartwright, M. Harpsfield, and divers other had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings, and scornefull laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that hee might not long tarrie. He durst not drinke for feare of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clocke. M. Latimer was not suffer-

[5] *Let us heare the arguments.*] These arguments, extending from 1314 to p. 1324, we omitted in this edition.

ed

ed to read that he had (as he said) painefully written; but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

The Preface of Weston unto the Disputation following.

"Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the helpe of God) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lords bodie in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answere, I doe admonish that you answere in short and few words."

Lat. "I pray you, good M. Prolocutor, doe not exact that of mee, which is not in mee; I have not these twenty yeeres much used the Latine tongue."

West. "Take your ease, father."

Lat. "I thanke you sir, I am well. Let me here protest my faith for I am not able to dispute: and afterwards doe your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of M. Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Doctor Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must aunswere, are these.

1 The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the vertue of Gods word, pronounced by the priest, there is really present the naturall body of Christ, conceived of the Virgine Marie, under the kindes of the appearances of bread and wine: and in like manner his bloud.

2 The second is, that after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor none other substance, but the substance of God and man.

3 The third is, that in the masse there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, aswell for the sinnes of the quicke, as of the dead.

" Concerning the first conclusion, mee thinketh it is set foorth with certaine new found termes, that be obscure, and doe not sound according to the speech of the scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I doe answere plainly, though not without perill. I answere, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lords supper, there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spirituall presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternall life, if we persever. And this same presence may be called most fitly, a reall presence, that is, a presence not fained, but a true and a faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose mee with the Anabaptistes, to make nothing else of the sacrament but a naked and a bare signe. As for that which is fained of many concerning their corporall presence, I for my part take it but for a papisticall invention, therefore thinke it utterly to be rejected.

" Concerning the second conclusion, I dare bee bolde to say, that it hath no stay or ground, in Gods word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to bee taken as fond and false: and I had almost sayd, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and maisters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians; for I do not see how they can avoid it.

" The third conclusion (as I doe understand it) seemeth subtlely to sowe sedition against the offering which Christ himselfe offered for us in his owne

proper person, according to that pithie place of Paule, when he sayth, *That Christ his owne selfe hath made purgation of our sinnes.* And afterward, *That hee might* (saith he) *be a mercifull and a faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to bee done with God, for the taking away of our sinnes.* So that the expiation or taking away of our sinnes, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himselfe: and therefore it is needlesse that he should be offered of any other. I will speake nothing of the wonderfull presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitles (if not wholly, yet partly) of the crosse of Christ: for truely it is is no base or meane thing, to offer Christ. And therefore woorthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers: By what authoritie do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? when? *A man cannot* (sayth the Baptist) *take anie thing, except it bee given him from above:* much lesse then may any man presume to usurpe any honor, before he be thereto called. Againe, *If any man sinne* (saith S. John) *we have* (saith he) not a masser or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at masse, but *wee have* (saith he) *an advocate Jesus Christ*, which once offered himself long agoe: of which offering, the efficacie and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needlesse to have such offerers.

"What meaneth Paule, when he saith: *They that serve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?* and so addeth: *So the Lord hath ordeined that they that preach the Gospel, shal live of the Gospel.* Whereas he should have said: The Lord hath ordained,

ordained, that they that sacrifice at masse, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christes comming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by Gods ordinance, into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterlie, saving in as much as all Christian men are sacrificing priests.

" The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving, for the offering which the Lord himselfe did offer for us, much rather then that our offerers should doe there as they do. *Feede* (sayth Peter) *as much as ye may the flocke of Christ:* nay rather let us sacrifice as much as wee may, for the flocke of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feede is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flocke, how shalt thou be taken? truely catholike enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? at the least I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretike. And whence, I pray you, come these papisticall judgements? Except perchance they thinke a man feedeth the flocke, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there anie learned pastours? For no man is so foolish, but soone may he learne to sacrifice and masse it."

" Thus loe, I have taken the more paine to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debilitie thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done, not without great

paines, having not any man to helpe me, as I have never before beene debarred to have. O sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakenesse that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings, more than once, two or three houres together, without interruption: but now, that I may speake the truth (by your leave), I could not be suffered to declare my minde before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an houre, without snatches, revilings, checkes, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be, but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the foure marrowbones of the masse. The which kinde of speaking, I never read to be a sinne against the Holy Ghost.

"I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphore. But sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your maistership what I meane.

The first is the popish consecration: which hath beene called a Gods body making.
The second is transubstantiation.
The third is missall oblation.
The fourth adoration.

"These chiefe and principall portions, partes and points belonging or incident to the masse, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the marrowbones of the masse; which indeede you by force, might and violence, intrude in sounde of words in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but els indeede, plaine out of the scripture[6], as I am thorow-

Plaine out of the scripture.] In another copy of this protestation, published by Strype, in his *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol.

thorowly perswaded, although in disputation I could now nothing doe, to perswade the same to others, being both unapt to studie, and also to make a shew of my former studie, in such readinesse as should be requisite to the same.

" I have heard much talke of maister Doctor Weston to and fro, in my time: but I never knewe your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queenes Majesties Commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgement, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance

vol. iii. Records, No. 34, we find the following additional particulars. After stating that he had read over the New Testament seven times, since he was in prison, and could never find the flesh, blood, nor bones of Christ, in the doctrine of the Eucharist, he goes on, " And because, peradventure, my masters myght say, that I doted for age, and my wittes were gone, so that my wordes were not to be credited; yet, beholde! the providence of God, which will have his truthe knowen (yea, if all men helde their tongues, the stones should speake), did bring this to passe, that where these famous men, Mr. Cranmere, archebysshop of Canterbury, Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man Mr. Bradforde, and I, olde Hugh Latymer, were imprisoned in the tower of London for Christes gospel preaching, and for because we wolde not go a massyng, every one in close prison from the other; the same tower, being so full of other prisoners, that we four were thurst into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of, but, God be thanked! to our great joy and comforte, there did we together reade over the Newe Testament with great deliberation, and paynefull study. And I assure you, as I wyll answer before the tribunall throne of Goddes Majestie, we could fynde in the Testament of Christes body and blood, none other presence, but a spiritual presence; nor that the masse was any sacrifice for synnes: but in that heavenly boke it appered, that the sacrifice, which Christ Jesus our Redeemer did upon the crosse, was perfect, holy and good: that God the heavenly father did require none other, nor that never ageyne to be done." P. 92.

that

that hee that dwelleth on high, looketh on the lowe things on the earth: and that there is no counsell against the Lord: and also that this world hath beene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet againe[7], that though wee must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernitious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have: for they so procure Gods vengeance upon them, if God be onely the ruler of things.

"There be some so corrupt in minde, the trueth being taken from them, that they thinke gaine to bee godlinesse; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much els soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerkes, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men: for it is nothing but plaine ignorance, to knowe anie thing without Christ: whereas who so knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seeke. The apostle Saint Paul confesseth of himselfe to the Corinthians, that hee did know nothing, but Jesus Christ crucified.

[7] *And yet againe.*] In the copy mentioned in the preceding note, this passage stands as follows: "And yet ageyne, that though we must obey the princes, yet are we lymyted, howe farre; that ys, so long as they do not commaund things ageynst the manifest truth. But nowe they doe. Therfore we must say with Peter and John, *We must obey God, before man.* I meane none other resistaunce, but to offer our lives to the death, rather than to commytt any evill ageynst the majestie of God, and his most holy and true worde. But this I say unto you, if the quene have any pernicious enemy within her realme, those they be that do cause her to maynteyn idolatry, and to wet her sword of justice in the blood of her people." P. 93.

Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ: but pretending Christ, doe craftily colour and darken his glorie. *Depart from such men*, sayth the apostle Saint Paule to Timothie.

"It is not out of the way to remember what S. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the Epistles of Petilian: *Whosoever* (saith hee) *teacheth any thing necessarily to be beleeved, which is not contained in the Olde or Newe Testament, the same is accursed.* Oh beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basilius have not such like wordes: *Whatsoever* (saith hee) *is besides the holy Scripture, if the same bee taught as necessarily to be beleeved, that is sinne.* Oh therefore take heede of this sinne.

"There be some that speake many false thinges more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth it selfe. Therefore Paul giveth a watch word: *Let no man* (sayth hee) *deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.* But what mean you saith one, by this talke so farre from the matter? Well, I hope, good masters you wil suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speake one thing twise. O Lord God, you have changed the most holy communion into a private action: and you denie to the laitie the Lords cuppe, contrary to Christes commandement; and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lords death till hee come: for you have changed the common prayer called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and knowne language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the doore of your heart, to see the thinges you should see herein. I would as faine obey my

soveraigne as any in this realme: but in these things I can never doe it with an upright conscience. God be mercifull unto us. Amen."

Weston. "Then refuse you to dispute? Will you heere then subscribe?"

Lat. "No good maister, I pray you be good to an olde man. You may, if it please God, be once olde, as I am: yee may come to this age, and to this debilitie."

West. "Ye said upon Saturday last, that yee could not finde the masse, nor the marrowbones thereof in your booke: but we will finde a masse in that booke."

Lat. "No good M. Doctor, ye cannot."

West. "What finde you then there?"

Lat. "Forsooth a communion I finde there."

West. "Which communion[8], the first or the last?"

Lat. "I finde no great diversity in them: they are one supper of the Lord, but I like the last very well."

West. "Then the first was naught belike."

Lat. "I do not well remember wherein they differ."

West. "Then cake bread[9] and loafe bread are all

[8] *The first or the last.*] "By this first and second communion, he meaneth the two books of publicke order set for in K. Edwardes dayes, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his reign." Fox's Margin. The Romish party were never weary of objecting against these alterations and improvements, as arguments of the necessity for returning again into the quiet bosom of the church, &c. See *Hoggard's Displaying of the Protestantes.* 1556. fol. 72—76. Brokes's *Sermon.* 1554. Signat. D 7, Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. II. p. , 216.

[9] *Then cake bread.*] "Then touchyng the ministration, whether it should be leavened or unleavened bread, Oh what a doe there was! First, it must be unleavened, but broader and

all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord[1], but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the scripture saith: *Postquam cœnatum est*, that is, After they had supped. For ye know that S. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper: and yee knowe no man can be drunken at you communion."

Latim. "The first was called *Cœna Judaica*, that is, The Jewish supper, when they did eat the paschal lambe together: the other was called *Cœna Dominica*, that is, The Lords supper."

West. "That is false, for Chrysostome denieth that. And S. Ambrose *in cap.* 10 *prioris ad Corinthos*, sayth, that the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord. And Gregorie Nazianzene sayth the same:

and thicker than the olde maner was, and in any wyse the *print of the name of Jesus* left out, which was as odious a sight to them, as the sygne of the crosse was to Julianus Apostata, who in any wyse coulde not abyde the sayde sygne, neither in churche, wyndowe or other place. Then these Julianistes, to bryng the sacrament to a more profane use, they devysed, that the bread should be leavened, like to other common bread; from the which though many crumbs did fall, they forced not, so little they esteemed the matter. For such sacrament, such minister; such carpenters, such tooles." Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*. 1556. fol. 73, 74.

[1] *The supper of the Lord.*] "I will tell you what a byshoppe of this realme sayd once to me. I chaunced in our communication, to name the *Lordes Supper*. Tush, sayth the byshoppe, what do ye call the Lordes supper? What new terme is that? There stood by him a dubber, one doctor Dubber, he dubbed hym by and by, and sayd, that this terme was seldome read in the doctoures. And I made aunswere, that I would rather follow Paule in using his termes, than them, though they had all the doctoures on their side. Why (said the bishop) cannot we without the scriptures order the people? How dyd they before the scripture was first written?" Latimer's Sermons, fol. 37. b.

Againe,

Againe, he kept the holy feast of passeover with his disciples in the dining chamber after the supper, and one day before his passion. But wee keepe it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection.

"And that first supper was called ἀγάπη: can you tell what that is?"

Latim. "I understand no Greeke. Yet I thinke it meaneth charitie."

Weston. "Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why, then must the priest bee hanged on the morrow. And where finde you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Lat. "Will you give me leave to turne my booke? I finde it in the eleventh chapter to the Corinthians, I trowe these be his wordes: *Probet autem seipsum homo*, &c.

"I pray you good maister, what gender is *homo?*"

West. "Marrie the common gender."

Cole. "It is in the Greeke, ὁ ἄνθρωπος."

Harps. "It is ἄνηρ [2] that is, *vir*."

Lat. "It is in my booke of Erasmus translation, *Probet seipsum homo*."

Feck. "It is *Probet seipsum* indeede, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Lat. "What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, hee said: *Quis tetigit me? Scio quòd aliquis me tetigit*. That is, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

West. "I will be at host with you anon. When Christ was at his supper, none were with him, but his apostles onely.

[2] *That is, vir.*] See Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 118.

"*Ergo*,

"*Ergo*, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

Lat. "In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

West. "So through the whole hereticall translated bible, ye never make mention of priest[3], till yee come to the putting of Christ to death. Where finde you then that a priest or minister (a minstrell I may call him well enough) should doe it of necessitie."

Lat. "A minister is a more fit name for that office, for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice."

West. "Well, remember that yee cannot finde that a woman may receive by scripture. Master Opponent fall to it."

Smith. "Because I perceive that this charge is laide upon my necke, to dispute with you: to the ende that the same may goe forward after a right maner and order, I wil propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I aske

[3] *Mention of priest.*] Tyndal has fully vindicated himself on this head, in his Answer to the Dialogue of Sir Thomas More. See *Works*, p. 251—253. But Weston and his friends had very little care about listening to reason and argument. They had the *sword* in their hands; and that emboldened them to set both reason and truth at defiance. One of the most learned of the party, in relation to the names of priest and minister, and to the changes which had been made under king Edward, in the habits of the clergy, speaks as follows. "Then was the holy order of priesthode utterly disanulled, so that the name of a priest should not be any longer used; but such as should preache and minister sacramentes, shoulde be called *Ministers*, and not *Priests*; and that they should be apparelled lyke lay men, so that a minister shuld not be knowen from a lay man, but all shulde be alyke: whyche never was seen in the churche of God from Christes tyme hitherto, but only amonges heretykes." Christopherson *agaynst rebellion*. signat. Y 5. 1554.

this

this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question: but such is the condition of the church, that it is alwaies vexed of the wicked sort. I aske, I say, whether Christes bodie be really in the sacrament?"

Lat. "I trust I have obteined of M. Prolocutour, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorie that this worshipfull audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my minde in writing to M. Prolocutor."

Smith. "Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registred among the acts."

Latim. "Disputation requireth a good memorie: *Ast abolita est mihi memoria.* My memorie is gone cleane, and marvellouslie weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

West. "How long have ye beene in prison?"

Lat. "These three quarters of this yere."

West. "And I was in prison sixe yeres."

Lat. "The more pitie, sir."

West. "How long have you beene of this opinion?"

Lat. "It is not long, sir, that I have beene of this opinion."

West. "The time hath beene when you said masse full devoutly."

Lat. "Yea, I crie God mercie heartily for it."

West. "Where learned you this new fanglenesse?"

Lat. "I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not beene of this minde past seven yeeres: and my Lord of Canturburies booke hath especially confirmed my judgement heerein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not feare to answere any man in this matter."

Tres.

Tres. "There are in that booke sixe hundred errors."

West. "You were once a Lutheran."

Lat. "No, I was a papist: For I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tigurines once did write a booke[4] against Luther, and I oft desired God that hee might live so long to make them answere."

West. "Luther in his booke *De privata Missa*, said, that the divell reasoned with him, and perswaded him that the masse was not good. Whereof it may appeare, that Luther said masse, and the divell disswaded him from it."

Lat. "I doe not take in hand here to defend Luthers sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himselfe well enough, I trow. I tolde you before that I am not meete for disputations. I pray you read mine answere, wherein I have declared my faith."

West. "Doe you beleeve this, as you have written?"

Lat. "Yea, sir."

West. "Then have you no faith."

Lat. "Then would I be sorie, sir."

Tres. "It is written (John vi.), *Except ye shall eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shal have no life in you.* Which when the Capernaites and many of Christes disciples heard, they said, *This is a hard saying*, &c. Now that the trueth may the better appeare, heer I aske of you, whether Christ speaking these words, did meane of his flesh to bee eaten with the mouth, or of the spirituall eating of the same?"

Lat. "I answer (as Augustine understandeth)

[4] *Did write a booke.*] See Lavateri *Historia Sacramentaria*, fol. 32, 33.

that

that Christ meant of the spirituall eating of his flesh."

Tresham. "I my selfe have heard you preaching at Greenewich, before king Henrie the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no christian man ought to doubt of the true and reall presence of Christes bodie in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of scripture on his side, *(videlicet) Hoc est corpus meum:* This is my body: whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same trueth: the word of scripture hath the selfe same thing which it then had. Therefore why do you denie at this present, that whereof it was not lawfull once to doubt before when you taught it?"

Lat. "Will you give me leave to speake?"

Tresh. "Speake Latine, I pray you, for yee can do it if yee list, promptly enough."

Lat. "I cannot speake Latine so long and so largelie. M. Prolocutor hath given mee leave to speake English. And he that shall answere the doctours, had not neede to bee in my case, but should have them in a readines, and know their purpose. Melancthon sayeth, if the doctours had foreseene that they should have been so taken in this controversie, they would have written more plainely."

West. "Because ye can defend your doctors no better, yee shall see how worshipfull men ye hang upon, and one that hath beene of your minde, shall dispute with you. M. Cartwrighte, I pray you dispute."

Cart. "Reverend father, because it is given me in commandement to dispute with you, I will doe it gladly. But first understand ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sory for it, and doe confesse my self to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and

I wish

I wish and desire God that you also may repent with me."

Lat. "Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused M. Doctour heere to recant? It is *pœna legis*, the paine of the lawe, which hath brought you backe, and converted you, and many moe: the which letteth many to confesse God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it."

Cart. "That is not my case: but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted[5] from mine errors.

If the true bodie of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles time.

But Christ would not suffer his church to erre:

Ergo, it is the true bodie of Christ."

Lat. "The popish church hath erred, and doth erre. I thinke for the spàce of sixe or seven hun-

[5] *By which I was converted.*] Perhaps Cartwright was indebted for this argument, and so for his conversion to the following passage in Dr. Brokes's sermon. "Whereupon one reason me thinketh, maie be grounded, which were sufficient to move any harde heart, any stony stomake, any blunt brest, that is not utterly obcecate, utterly obstinate, utterly indurate. The reason shall bee this. Other you muste graunte the real presence of our Saviour Christes owne very bodie, and bloude in the holye and blessed sacrament, as the truth is, or els must you make us beleve, that all the auncient authors, and godly persones, al the holy martyres, and confessours, al the holy fathers, and catholike writers, that ever wrote these fifteen hundred yeares and more, even from the apostles time hitherto, you muste make us beleve, I saie, that these, in this moste highe and weightie matier of our faieth, were al most shamefully blinded; al most shamefully deceived; yea al moste undoubtedlye dampned. For, hadde not they all, as it appereth by their workes wel construed, and wel understande the selfe same faith in the blessed sacramente, that the Catholikes have at this present?" Signat. F 3. b.

dred

dred yeeres, there was no mention made of any eating but spirituallie: for before these five hundred yeers, the church did ever confesse a spirituall manducation. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Canturburies booke handleth that very well, and by him I could answere you, if I had him."

Cart. "Linus and all the rest do confesse the body of Christ to bee in the sacrament: and S. Augustine also upon the 98. Psalme, upon this place; *Adorate scabellum pedum*, &c. granteth it to be worshipped."

Lat. "We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we doe worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used."

West. "How say you to the sacrifice for the dead?"

Lat. "I saie that it needeth not, or it booteth not."

West. "Augustine in his Enchiridion, the 110. chap. saith, We must not denie, that the soules of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediatour is offered for them. Where he proveth the veritie of Christes body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said masse for his mother."

Lat. "But that masse was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appeare in his writings, which are against it in everie place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, hee requireth to be beleeved no further, then he bringeth scripture for his proofe, and agreeth with Gods word."

West. "In the same place he proveth a propitiatorie sacrifice, and that upon an altar, and no oister boord."

Lat. "It is the Lords table, and no oister boord.

boord. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatorie sacrifice, but onely Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I beleeve them when they say well."

Cole. "Is it not a shame for an olde man to lie? You say, you are of the olde fathers faith, where they say well, and yet yee are not."

Lat. "I am of their faith when they say well. I referre my selfe to my L. of Canturburies booke wholly herein."

Smith. "Then are you not of Chrysostomes faith, nor of S. Augustines faith."

Lat. "I have saide, when they say well, and bring scripture for them, I am of their faith; and further Augustine requireth not to be beleeved."

West. "Fortie yere agone, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Lat. "The more cause wee have to thanke God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

West. "The light? Nay light and lewd preachers: for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often[6] your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoile and rob the church."

Lat. "These things pertaine nothing to me. I must not answere for other mens deeds, but onely for mine owne."

West. "Well, M. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to your selfe, and remember that without Noes Arke, there is no health. Remember what they have beene that were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a fewe flying apostates, running out of Germanie

[6] *Altered and changed so often.*] Compare Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 72—76. A. D. 1556; and Brokes's *Sermon*, signat. D 7. b. A. D. 1554.

for feare of the fagot. Remember what they have beene which have set forth the same in this realme: A sort of flingbraines and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seene in the turning of the table, where like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turne their tailes, looking one day west, and another day east, one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovell is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drinke, and I am thankefull. The more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hillarie saith; *Annuas & menstruas de Deo fides facimus*, that is, We make everie yeere and everie moneth a faith. A runnagate Scot[7] did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament: by whose procurement that heresie was put into the last communion booke: so much prevailed that one mans authoritie at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines or Germaines, or with the church, or with your selfe. Your stubbornnesse commeth of a vaine glorie, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a fagot

[7] *A runnagate Scot.*] Strype, referring to these words of Weston, says, "But there was no Scot that ever I could read or hear of, that assisted at the review of "that Communion Book." *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 117. The person alluded to by Weston, I believe to have been Alexander Alesius, a Scotish exile, of whose good services, we met with some account in the life of Cromwell, and who translated the first liturgy of king Edward into Latin, preparatory to the review in question, for the use of Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr, who did not possess a sufficient knowledge of the English language, to qualify them to make their remarks upon the original. See Buceri *Scripta Anglicana*.

is

is in your beard. And we see all by your owne confession, how little cause you have to bee stubburne, for your learning is in feoffers holde. The queenes grace is mercifull, if ye will turne."

Latim. "You shall have no hope in mee to turne. I pray for the queene daily even from the bottome of my heart, that shee may turne from this religion."

West. "Here you all see the weaknes of heresie against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

Here all good readers may see how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victorie or no, that I suppose they have not yet, neither heard nor seene. And give that he had the victorie, yet what great marvell was it, disputing as he did, *Non sine suo Theseo*; that is, not without his tippling cuppe standing at his elbowe all the time of his disputation, not without a privie noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but specially at that time, when doctour Ridley disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor tooke the cuppe, and holding it in his hand, sayde to the opponent; *Urge hoc, urge hoc. Nam hoc facit pro nobis.* In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought heere also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withall, after his tedious wearinesse in reading the story thereof.

Thus have yee heard in these foresaid disputations, about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answeres and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victorie, with

Vicit veritas, who rather in my minde should have exclaimed, *vicit potestas;* as it happeneth alwaies. *Ubi pars major vincit meliorem.* For else if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria.* But so it is; where judgements bee partiall, and parties bee addicted, there all things turne to victorie, though it bee never so meane and simple, as in this disputation might well appeare.

For first, of the opponents part, neither was there almost any argument in true moode and figure rightly framed; neither coulde the answerers be permitted to say for themselves: and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speake. Againe, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiration then any disputation, without all forme and order, was in the schooles during the time of their answering, that neither could the answerers have place to utter their mindes, neither would the opponents bee satisfied with any reasons. Concerning the which disturbance of that misruled disputation, you shall heare what M. Ridley himselfe reporteth by his owne description, in maner as followeth.

The Report and Narration of M. Ridley concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow Prisoners at Oxford.

I never yet since I was borne sawe, or heard any thing done or handled more vainely, or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schooles at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had beene possible to have found amongst men recounted to bee of knowledge and learning in this realme, any so brazen

sen faced and shamelesse, so disorderly and vainely to behave themselves, more like stage-players in enterludes, to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schooles to dispute. The sorbonicall clamours (which at Paris I have seene in time past, when popery most raigned) might be worthily thought (in comparison of this thrasonicall ostentation) to have had much modestie. And no great marvell, seeing they which should have been moderatours, and overseers of others, and which should have given good ensample in words and gravitie; they themselves above all other gave worst ensample, and did, at it were, blowe the trompe to the rest, to rave, rore, rage, and cry out. By reason wherof (good christain reader) manifestly it may appeare, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but onely for the glory of the world, and their owne bragging victorie. But lest by the innumerable railings and reproachfull taunts wherewith I was baited on everie side, our cause, yea rather Gods cause and his churches, should be evill spoken of, and slandered to the world through false reports, and untrue ensamples given out of our disputation, and so the veritie might susteine some damage, I thought it no lesse than my duetie to write mine answeres [8]; to the intent that whosoever

[8] *To write mine answeres.*] This account of Ridley's disputation, written by himself, was at length published at Oxford, (only with a mistake of the *day* of disputation, putting April 20th instead of the 17th, an error which has been copied and augmented, by another mistake of the *year*, by Dr. Gloc. Ridley, and also in the first vol. of the Enchiridion Theologicum, published at Oxford, A. D. 1792), in the original Latin, by Dr. Gilbert Ironside, in the year 1688, under the title, "*An Account of a Disputation at Oxford, Anno Dom.* 1554, *with a Treatise of the Blessed Sacrament, both written by Bishop Ridley, Martyr.*" 8vo. A copy of it was in Fox's hands, and made use

ever is desirous to knowe the trueth thereof, may by this perceive, aswell those things which were chiefely objected, as summarilie that which was answered of mee unto everie of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confesse this to be most true, that it is unpossible to set forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts beeing so many, speaking many times all togither, so thicke that one could not well heare another, either all that was answered on my behalfe, to them so sundry and divers opponents.

" Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations, was vainely consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue, to procure the peoples favor withall. All which things, when I with great griefe of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outragious disorder, was unseemely for those schooles, and men of learning and gravitie, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but bewray the slendernesse of their cause, and their owne vanities; I was so far off by this my humble complaint from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to heare such rebukes, checkes, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honestie without blushing could abide to heare the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

" At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answere to the first

use of by him, in compiling his narrative. See *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1322. It is not nearly so large and full as Fox's account (who was aided in drawing up his history by the copies of the notaries, and other memoranda taken by persons present), being apparently designed only as a record of the solid and material parts of the disputation.

propo-

proposition in few words, and that (after the maner and law of schooles) afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, *he speaketh blasphemies, hee speaketh blasphemies.* And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to heare mee to the end (whereat the prolocutour being mooved, cried out on hie, Let him read it, let him reade it) yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying *blasphemies, blasphemies,* as I to my remembrance never heard or read the like, except it be that one which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silver smith, and other of his occupation, crying out against Paule, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the Ephesians*; and except it bee a certaine disputation which the Arrians had against the orthodoxes, and such as were of godly judgement in Aphryca, where it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations. All were in a hurly burly, and so great were the slanders which the Arrians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor in the second booke of his historie.

" The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that wild I, nild I, I was inforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same aske any one that was there [9],

[9] *Aske any one that was there.*] How just these complaints were, is further corroborated by the accounts of several persons who were themselves present. See " *A trewe Mirrour, wherin we maye beholde the wofull State of this our realme.* Signat, A 3, 4. A. D. 1556." Jewel's Controversy with Cole. *Works*, p. 24, &c.

and

and not utterly perverted in popery, and I am assured he will say, I speake the least. But to complaine of these things further, I will cease."

After the disputation of maister Latymer ended, which was the 18. day of Aprill, the Friday following, which was the 20. day of the said moneth, the commissioners sate in Saint Maries church, as they did the Saturday before, and doctor Weston used particularly disswasions with every of them, and would not suffer them to answere in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe or no. And first to the bishop of Canturbury hee said, hee was overcome in disputations: whom the bishop answered, that whereas doctor Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintaine his owne errours, nor impugne the verity, all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answere as he was required, unles he would have brawled with them, so thicke their reasons came one after another. Ever foure or five did interrupt him, that hee could not speake. M Ridley, and M. Latymer were asked, what they would do: they said they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called togither, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church. And therefore they, their fautors and patrones were condemned as heretikes: and in reading of it, they were asked whether they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned all three."

After which sentence of condemnation beeing awarded against them, they answered againe every one in their turne, in manner and effect of words, as followeth, the archbishop first beginning thus.

The

The Archbishop of Canturbury.

" From this your judgement and sentence, I appeale to the just judgement of God Amightie, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Doctor Ridley.

" Although I be not of your companie, yet doubt not I but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence wil send us sooner, than wee should by the course of nature have come."

M. Latymer.

" I thanke God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorifie God by that kinde of death."

Dr. Westons answere unto Latymer.

" If you go to heaven in this faith, then I wil never come thither, as I am thus perswaded."

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from the other, *videlicet*, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, doctor Ridley was caried to the shiriffes house, maister Latymer to the baliffes.

On Saturday following, they had a masse with a general procession and great solemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo; doctor Ridley out of the Shiriffes house; Latymer also being brought to see it, from the bayliffes house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper a catchpoll, to make a quicke fire. But when he came

came to Karfox[1], and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his olde bones would carry him, to one Spensers shop, and would not looke towards it. Last of all, doctor Weston caried the sacrament, and foure doctors caried the canopie over him.

Immediately after the sentence was given, doctor Ridley writeth to the prolocutor, in manner, as followeth:

Dr. Ridley to the Prolocutour.

"Maister Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised mee openly in the schooles, after my protestation, that I should see how my answeres were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed, *(me, fateor, neminem recusante)* to write what should be said, and to have had licence for to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same: these promises are not performed. If your sodaine departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed: for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judges hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing, to your second and third propositions. And do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by Gods grace procure the paines of the writer to be paid for and satisfied accordingly. Maister prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schooles, when I would have confirmed my sayings with au-

[1] *To Karfox.*] "As many copies of his books, as could be found at Oxford, were burnt at the cross-way commonly called *Quatervoix*, or *Carfax*." Lewis's *Life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 248.

thorities

thorities and reasons, yee said then openly, that I should have time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I can not but marvel, &c."

On Munday next insuing, after these things done and past, being the 23. of the said moneth of Aprill, doctor Weston prolocutor tooke his journey up to London, with the letters certificatorie from the universitie unto the queene, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatorie unto the councell. The which letters after the prolocutor had received, and had caried them welnere halfe way to London, by the way hee opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them backe againe, refusing to cary them. Likewise bishop Ridley hearing of the prolocutours going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein hee desireth him to carie his answers up to certaine bishops in London, the forme of which letters, first of doctor Ridley, then of the archbishop, and lastly another letter of doctor Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

" Maister prolocutor, I desire you, and in Gods name require you, that you truely bring forth and shew all mine answers, written and subscribed

scribed with mine owne hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellour, my lords of Duresme, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester, and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines heere I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witnesse of them by whome I did send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present, *videlicet*, the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of M. Irish Alderman, then there, called to be a witnesse.

By me Nicholas Ridley,
23. of April, An. 1554."

The Copie of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letters to the Councell, sent by Doctour Weston, who refused to deliver them.

" In right humble wise sheweth unto your honorable lordships, Thomas Cranmer late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a meanes for me unto the queenes highnes for her mercy and pardon. Some of you knowe by what meanes I was brought and trained unto the will of our late soveraigne lord king Edward the sixt, and what I spake against the same, wherein I referre me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signifie unto your lordships, that upon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, M. Ridley, and M. Latymer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first of the reall presence, secondly, of transubstantiation, and thirdly of the sacrifice of the masse: upon Munday against me, upon Tuesday against D. Ridley,

Ridley, and upon Wednesday against M. Latymer. How the other two were ordered, I know not, for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my selfe I can report. D. Chadsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked, without order; and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument: and in such waighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scantly be ended in three moneths. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofes, that they might answere us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my selfe have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose in twenty daies. The meanes to resolve the truth, had bin to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they againe to answer us fully to all that we can say. By why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answere us; or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seeke the truth, but to condemne us, that it must be done in poste hast before the matters could be throughly heard: for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresie? Thus much I thought good to signifie unto your lordships, that you may knowe the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgement thereof unto your wisedomes. And I beseech your lordships to remember me a poore prisoner unto the queenes majesty, and I shall pray as I doe daily, unto God for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godlinesse and felicitie. April 23."

Dr

Dr. Ridley to the Archbishop of Canturbury.

" I wish ye might have seene these mine answeres before I had delivered them, that yee might have corrected them. But I trust in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods word. It is reported that sergeant Morgan, the chiefe justice of the common place, is gone mad. It is said also that justice Hales hath recanted[a], perverted by D. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, D. Crome, and M. Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here, and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answeres, send them againe to

[a] *Hales hath recanted.*] " Sir James Hales of Kent, knight, a pious and good man, and a just and able judge, under king Henry and king Edward (whose history is related at large by Fox, p. 1392.) was made a prisoner in the King's Bench last year by the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellour; and thence was removed to the Counter in Bread-street, and from thence to the Fleet. Here one Foster, a gentleman of Hampshire, laboured to persuade him to embrace the popish doctrine by this argument, that the error was without danger, but the truth full of peril. When it was known that Hales was inclinable to relent, Day bishop of Chichester, and Portman a judge, came to him, it being then the month of April, and did so earnestly deal with him, that they overcame him at last, after his having lain three weeks in that prison of the Fleet. But the trouble that arose in his conscience for what he had done, filled him with great terror, and overwhelmed him with sorrow: so that he attempted in the absence of his servant, to kill himself with his pen-knife. For being ill, and lying sobbing and sighing, he sent down his servant upon an errand, and in the mean time wounded himself in divers places of his body. But his servant came in on the sudden, and at that time prevented his death.

" Win-

to Austen[3], except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our deliverie out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetuall rest, and unto perpetuall joy and felicitie draweth nie. The Lord strength us with his mighty spirit of grace. If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded, so he may and will doe you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it greeveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to maister Latymer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schooles, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for mee, I pray you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eies of the magistrates, that Gods extreame plagues light not on this realm of England.

Turne, or burne."

These disputations[4] being thus discoursed and ended, which were at Oxford in the month of Aprill,

" Winchester took occasion upon this, the day after, in the Star-chamber, to blaspheme the doctrine of the Gospel, calling it the *Doctrine of Desperation*, and the professors of it, *desperate men*. Whereas, indeed, the blame of judge Hales's doing was not to be laid upon the true religion, but upon the forsaking of it: for he did this act after he had, in effect, renounced the religion. . . . But to return to this unhappy gentleman: sadder yet was his conclusion. For after his recantation, being dismissed home to his own country and habitation, conquered with grief and despair, he drowned himself in a shallow pond near his own house, which is shewn to this day." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 173, 174.

[3] *To Austen.*] Austin Bernher, Latimer's faithful Swiss servant.

[4] *These disputations.*] After their sentence of condemnation (which was passed April 20, 1554), these illustrious confessors were all remanded to prison; where they were detained,

Aprill, as is aforesaid: now let us returne againe to the prosecuting of our storie.

Albeit M. Latimer by reason of the feeblenesse of his age wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in praier he was fervently occupied, wherin oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without helpe: and among other things, these were three principall matters he praied for.

First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine untill his death, that he might give his heart bloud for the same.

Secondlie, that God of his mercie would restore his Gospell to Englande once againe, and these words once againe, once againe, he did so inculcate, as though he had seene God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queenes majesty that now is, whom in his

tained, without any further public proceedings against them, until the latter end of Sept. in the following year. The reason of this delay was, that in the vehemence of their zeal their adversaries had forgotten that they had no law to proceed upon, for the authority of the pope had not yet been received. The sentence therefore which they passed, was void: a new commission was to be procured from Rome, and a fresh process instituted.

"On the third of May (1554) the council sate, and resolved that the judges and queen's highness' council learned, should be called together, and their opinions demanded, what they think in law her highness may do touching the causes of the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being already by both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford judged to be obstinate hereticks: which matter is the rather to be consulted upon, for that the said Cranmer is already attainted. Thus sensible were they that their zeal had carried them some lengths beyond the point which law and equity would reach. The pri-

his praier he was wont accustomablie to name, and even with teares desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realme of England. These were the maters he praied for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vaine, as the good successe thereof after following did declare: for the Lord moste graciouslie did grant all those his requests.

First concerning his constancy, even in the most extremitie the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormenters about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godlie bishop master Ridley, he lifted up his eies towards heaven with an

prisoners had been committed, Cranmer for high treason, Ridley, and Latimer for sedition; the former had been attainted in parliament; the other two had never been called to any account. And now all three were excommunicated for offences of another nature, by an authority that had no support: for the queen claimed no supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, nor did she insert that title in her directions to Bonner to summon this convocation. Bonner, who summoned it, as he could have no authority from the queen, so neither from the pope: he was neither legate *a latere* or *legatus natus*; nay, had he been either, the pope himself had as yet no authority here, and therefore Bonner omitted in his summons to the convocation those customary words *legitime suffultus*, conscious that he called it without any authority at all. They therefore desired aid from the judges and the queen's learned council to extricate them out of this difficulty, in which they had too hastily entangled themselves. We may guess at the lawyers' opinion by the event; none of them were put to death till another parliament had been called, and the pope's supremacy restored. And even then, when they had proceeded to burn some protestants, one in the convocation moved a question by what law could they justify themselves in doing so? The Prolocutor Weston answered, "It forceth not for a law; we have a commission to proceed with them, and when they be dispatched, let their friends call for a law." Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 513. Compare letters of the Martyrs, p. 67.

amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, *Fidelis est Deus qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*, God is faithfull, which dooth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength: and so afterward by and by shed his bloud in the cause of Christ, the which bloud ran out of his hart in such abundance that all those that were present, being godlie, did marvell to see the most part of the bloud in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire: by the which thing God moste graciouslie granted his request, which was, that hee might shed his heart bloud in the defence of the Gospell.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his Gospel once again unto this realm, these present daies can beare record. And what then shal England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own miserie past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be mercifull unto us. Amen.

Againe, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his Gospell, and to the unspeakeable comfort of this realme. For whether at the request of his praier, or of other Gods holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and tryumphed, Gods word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christs servants to cover their heads, sodainelie the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquitie, made an end of all these miseries and wrought

wrought a marvellous change of things; at the chaunge whereof the saide queene Elizabeth was appointed and annointed, for whome this gray-headed father so earnestlie praied in his imprisonment; thorough whose true, naturall, and imperial crowne, the brightnesse of Gods word was sette up againe to confound the darke and false visoured kingdome of antichrist, the true temple of Christ redified, the captivity of sorrowfull Christians released, which so long was wished for in the praiers of so many good men, specially of this faithfull and true servant of the Lord, master Latimer.

The same God which at the requests of his holie and faithfull saintes, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercie, peace and tranquillitie, assist our most vertuous and christian princesse, and her subjects, that wee may everie one in his state and calling serve to his glorie, and walke in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceede in all faithfullnesse, to build and keepe uppe the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glorie, and our everlasting comfort in him.

During the time that the said M. Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, wee reade not of much that hee did write, besides his conference with doctour Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, of letters wee finde verie fewe or none, that he did write to his friends abroad, save onely these few lines, which he wrote to one mistres Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the Gospel's sake. Who so long as she remained in England, was a singular patronesse to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to maister Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to maister Coverdale, M. Latimer, doctor Cranmer, with manie other. The copy and effect

of which his letter to mistres Wilkinson here followeth:

" If the gift of a pot of cold water, shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountifull gifts, when he shall say to you, *I was in prison and you visited mee.* God grant us all to doe and suffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure, Amen.

Yours in Bocardo, Hugh Latimer."

Touching the memorable actes and doings of this worthie man, among many other this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise hee attempted, in sending to king Henry a present, the maner whereof is this. There was then and yet remaineth still, an olde custome received from the olde Romans, that upon newyeares day being the first of Januarie, everie bishop with some handsome newyeares gift, should gratific the king: and so they did, some with golde, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some an other: but master Latimer being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest presented a New Testament, for his newyeares gift: with a napkin having this posie about it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.*

And thus hast thou gentle reader, the whole life, both of maister Ridley and of maister Latimer, two worthy dooers in the Church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painfull travailes, faithfull preachinges, studious service in Christes church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with other their proceedinges from time

to

to time, since their first springing yeares, to this present time and month of queene Mary, beeing the moneth of October, anno 1555. In the which moneth they were both brought forth together, to their finall examination and execution. Wherfore as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally, and distinctly one from the other, so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were togither both joined in one societie of cause and martyrdome, we will by the grace of Christ prosecute the rest that remaineth, concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and maner also of the commissioners, which were master White bishop of Lincoln, master Brookes bishop of Gloucester, with others; and what were their wordes, their objections, their orations there used, and what againe were the answers of these men to the same, as in the processe here followeth to be seene.

The Order and Maner of the Examination of D. Ridley, and M. Latimer, had the 30. *Day of Septemb.* 1555.

First after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, before the popes delegate, and the queenes commissioners in S. Maries church at Oxford, about the twelfth day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lordes grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortlie after upon the twenty-eighth day of the saide moneth of September, was sent downe to Oxford an other commission from Cardinall Poole legate *a latere*, to John White bishop of Lincolne, to doctour Brookes bishop of Gloucester, andto doctour Holiman, bishop of Bristowe.

The

The contents and vertue of which commission was, that the said John of Lincolne, James of Glocester, and John of Bristowe, they or two of them, should have full power and authoritie, to ascite, examine and judge master Hugh Latimer and master doctor Ridley, presented bishops of Worcester, and London, for divers and sundrie erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, did hold and maintaine in open disputations had in Oxford, in the moneths of May, June, and Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1554, as also long before in the time of perdition, and sithen. The which opinions if the named persons would nowe recant, giving and yeelding themselves to the determination of the universall and catholicke church, planted by Peter in the blessed sea of Rome, that then they deputed judges by the saide authoritie of their commission, should have power to receive the sayde penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them, the reconciliation of the holy father the pope: but if the sayde Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintaine these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission, should proceede in forme of judgement, according to the lawe of heretickes; that is, degrading them from their promotion, and dignitie of bishops, priests and all other ecclesiasticall orders, should pronounce them as heretickes, and therefore cleane to cut them off from the church, and so to yeeld them to receive punishments, due to all such heresie and schisme.

Wherefore the last of September, the sayd two persons Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, were asciped to appeare before the sayde lordes, in the divinity schoole at Oxford, at eight of the clocke. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing them-

themselves in the high seate, made for publick lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that schoole, being then faire set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushins of velvet: and after the sayde Lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for: and first appeared master doctor Ridley, and anone M. Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, M. Latimer was kept backe, untill doctor Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore, soone after the comming of doctor Ridley into the schoole, the commission was published by an appointed notarie, and openly read. But doctour Ridley standing bare headed, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoones as he had heard the cardinall named, and the popes holinesse, put on his cap. Wherefore after the commission was published, in forme and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincolne spake in sense following.

"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lordes here, in respect of our owne persons, doe looke for cap or knee, yet because we beare and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinals grace, legate *a latere* to the popes holinesse, as well in that he is of a notable parentage (and therewith master Ridley moved his cappe with lowly obeisance), descending from the regall bloud, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues, and godly life, and especially in that hee is heere in England deputie to the popes holinesse, it should have becommed you at his name, to have discovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your owne selfe, take the paines to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the sayde cardinall as

of

of the popes holinesse, uncover the same, least that this your contumacie exhibited now before us, should be prejudiciall to the saide most reverend persons (which thing wee may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the paine, to cause some man to plucke off your cappe from you." To whome maister Ridley making his petition for lycence, aunswered.

"As touching that you saide (my lord) that you of your owne persons desire no cap nor knee, but onely require the same, in consideration that you represent the cardinalls graces person, I doe you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinalls grace, neither for any contumacy that I beare towards your owne persons, neither for anie derogation of honour towarde the Lord cardinals grace. For I knowe him to be a man worthie of all humilitie, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regall bloud, and in that he is a man indued with manifolde graces of learning and vertue: and as touching these vertues and pointes, I with all humilitie" (therwith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee), "and obeysance that I may, will reverence, and honour his grace: but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome" (and therewith put on his cappe) "whose usurped supremacie, and abused authoritie, I utterlie refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeysance, or honour unto him; least that my so doing and behaviour, might be prejudiciall to mine othe, and derogation to the veritie of Gods word: and therefore that I might not only by confession, professe the veritie in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrarie to Gods word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings expresse the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration onely;

onely; and not for anie contumacie to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipfull audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinall his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities."

Lincolne. "M. Ridley, you excuse your selfe of that, with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keepe on your cap, neither for anie contumacie towards us (which looke for no such honour of you) neither for anie contempt of this audience, which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeysance of you; neither in derogation of anie honour due to my lord cardinals grace, for his regall descent" at which word M. Ridley moved his cap "and excellent qualities: for although in all the premisses honor be due, yet in these respects, we require none of you, but onely in that my lord cardinals grace is here in England, deputie of the popes holinesse" at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and maister Ridley put on his, "and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the paines your selfe, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you alleadge some infirmitie and sickenes, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof, we may doe as we thinke good."

Ridley. "The premisses I said only for this end, that it might as well appeare to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration, I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling my selfe to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sicknes I thanke my Lord God, that I am as wel at ease, as I was this long season: and therefore I doe not pretend that

which

which is not, but onely this, that it might appeare by this my behavior, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacie of Rome, and therefore contemne and utterly despise all authoritie comming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincolne, after the third admonition, commaunded one of the bedles (that is an officer of the universitie) to plucke his cappe from his heade. Maister Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the bishop of Lincolne in a long oration exhorted M. Ridley to recant and submit himselfe to the universall faith of Christ, in this manner.

"M. Ridley, I am sure you have sufficientlie pondered with your selfe, the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authoritie is given to us, if you shal receive the true doctrin of the church (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediatelie after the death of Christ, and from him by lineall succession hath beene brought to this our time), if you will bee content to renounce your former errours, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yeeld your selfe to the undoubted faith, and truth of the gospell, received and alwaies taught of the Catholicke, and apostolike church, the which the king and queene, all the nobles of this realme, and commons of the same, al christian people have and doe confesse, you onelie standing alone by your selfe. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that authoritie is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoyne and associate you again

again into the number of the Catholikes and Christs church, from the which you have so long straied, without the which no man can bee saved; the which thing I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm most heartilie desire, and I for my part" wherewith he put off his cap, "most earnestly exhort you to doe.

"Remember maister Ridley, it is no strange countrey whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. You have taken degrees in the schoole. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine, which wee doe now. You were made bishop according to our lawes: and to bee short, it is not so long agone, sith you separated your selfe from us, and in the time of heresie, became a setter forth of that divellish and seditious doctrine, which in these latter daies was preached amongst us. For at what time the newe doctrine of *onelie faith* began to spring, the counsaile willing to winne my Lord Chauncellour sent you to him (I then being in my Lords house unknowne as I suppose to you) and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certaine pointes of your talke, and meanes of your perswasion, and amongst other this was one, that you should say, "tush my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not sticke to condescend herein to them: but for Gods love my lord, stand stoutly in the veritie of the sacrament: for I see they wil assault that also." If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter) hereby it is declared of what minde you were then, as touching the trueth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paules crosse, you

you as effectually and as catholickly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no trange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to returne thither from whence you came: That is, together with us to acknowledge the truth, to acknowleage the church of God, wherein no man may erre, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the popes holinesse, which (as I sayd) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, uppon whome Christ promised before his death, to build his church: the which supremacy or prerogative, the most auncient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge." And here hee brought a place or two out of the doctours, but especiallie staied upon a saying of Saint Augustine, which writeth in this manner, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis, & longe remotis terris, Romanæ Ecclesiæ subjectus est*, that is, all the christian countries beyond the sea, are subject to the church of Rome. "Here you see maister Ridley, that all Christendome is subject to the church of Rome. What should staie you therefore to confesse the same with Saint Austen, and the other fathers?"

Then maister Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speake somwhat of the premisses, least the multitude of things might confound his memory: and having graunt thereunto, said in this maner.

Ridley. "My lord, I most hartily thanke your lordship, as well for your gentlenesse, as also for your sobrietie in talke, and for your good and favorable zeale in this learned exhortation; in the which I have marked especially three pointes, which you used to perswade me to leave my doctrin, and religion, which I perfectly knowe and am throughly

throughly perswaded to be grounded not upon mans imagination and decrees, but uppon the infallible truth of Christes gospell; and not to looke backe, and to returne to the Romish sea, contrarie to mine othe, contrarie to the prerogative and crowne of this realme, and especially (which mooveth me most) contrary to the expressed worde of God.

"The first point is this, that the sea of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whome you saie Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally from bishop to bishop beene brought to this time.

"Secondly, that even the holy fathers from time to time, have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truelie the place is not so to be understand as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Helias, some one thing, some another, then he saide, *whome say ye that I am?* Then Peter said, *I say that thou art Christ the son of God.* To whome Christ answered, *Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church*; that is to say, upon this stone [5], not meaning Peter himselfe, as though he would have constitute a mortall man, so fraile and brickle a foundation of his stable and unfallible church;

[5] *Upon this stone.*] Compare Tyndal's Works, p. 357. Nowell's Confutation of Dorman, p. 445, &c. Jewell's Answer to Harding, p. 165. 184. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1637, &c.

but upon this rocke stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all christianity, with word, heart, and minde, to confesse that Christ is the sonne of God. Whosoever beleeveth not this, Christ is not in him: and hee cannot have the marke of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the sonne of God.

"Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rocke, that is upon this his confession, that he was Christ the son of God, he would build his church; to declare that without this faith, no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the sonne of God, is the foundation of our christianitie, and the foundation of our church. Heere you see upon what foundation Christs church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

"Now as touching the lineall descent of the bishops in the sea of Rome, true it is, that the patriarke of Rome in the apostles time, and long after, was a great maintainer, and a setter forth of Christs glorie, in the which above all other countries and regions there especiallie was preached the true gospell, the sacraments were moste dulie minstred; and, as before Christs comming, it was a citie so valiant in prowesse, and martiall affaires, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christs passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospels sake; so after that the emperours, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospell, and became christians, the gospell there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most; whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed

in

in all councels and assemblies; not because they acknowledge them to bee their head, but because the place was moste reverenced and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincolne in sessions and sittinges, hath the prehemminence of the other bishops, not that hee is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignitie of the bishopricke" (and therewith the people smiled). "Wherefore the doctours in their writings, have spoken most reverentlie of this sea of Rome, and in their writings preferred it: and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse, the ancient doctors to give to the sea of Rome.

"Semblablie, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the sea of Romie, as long as it continued in the promotion, and setting forth of Gods glorie and in due preaching of the gospell, as it did many yeares after Christ. But after that the bishops of that sea, seeking their own pride, and not Gods honour, began to set themselves above kinges and emperours, challenging to them the title of Gods vicars, the dominion and supremacie over all the world, I cannot but with S. Gregorie a bishop of Rome also, confesse that the bishop of that place is the very true antichrist, whereof S. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the sayd S. Gregorie: he that maketh himselfe a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.

"Now whereas you say that Saint Augustine should seeme, not onely to give such a prerogative, but also supremacie to the sea of Rome, in that he sayth, all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that sea a certaine kinde of subjection: I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in S. Austens

time,

time, there were foure patriarkes, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioche and Rome, which patriarkes had under them certaine countries, as in England the archbishop of Canturburie hath under him divers bishoprickes in England and Wales, to whome he maie be sayde to bee their patriarche. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time Saint Austen wrote this booke he was then bishop in Africa. Farther you are not ignorant, that betweene Europe and Africa lieth the sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called *Transmarine*, countries beyond the sea. Hereof S. Austen saith, all the christian countries beyonde the seas and far regions, are subject to the sea of Rome. If I should saie all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense S. Austen saith, all the countries beyond the sea are subject to the sea of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the seas of the foure patriarches, and under it Europe. By what subjection I praie you? onely for a preeminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishopries in England, are subject to the archbishoprick of Canturbury and Yorke.

" For this preeminence also the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopricke of Lincolne, is mother to the bishopricke of Oxford, because the bishopricke of Oxford came from the bishopricke of Lincolne, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishoprick of Canturbury, mother to the other bishoprickes, which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopricke of Yorke, is mother to the North bishoprickes: and yet no man will say, that Lincolne, Canturbury, or Yorke, is supreme head to other bishoprickes: neither then ought we

to

to confesse the sea of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings, confesse the sea of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now where you saie, I was once of the same religion, which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confesse the same. Yet so was Saint Paule a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I doing my message to my Lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that grosse opinion of the supper of the Lord, in verie deede I was sent (as your lordship said) from the counsaile to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification: and because he was verie refractorious, I said to him, why my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar: I pray you my lord be diligent in confounding them; for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do, with two anabaptists of Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiffe in the defence of the sacrament, against the detestable errours of anabaptistes, and not in the confirmation of that grosse and carnall opinion nowe maintayned.

"In like sort, as touching the sermon, which I made at Pauls crosse, you shall understand that there were at Pauls, and divers other places, fixed railing billes against the sacrament, terming it *Jacke of the boxe, the Sacrament of the halter, round Robbin*, with like unseemelie tearms: for the which causes, I to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certaine evill disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to bee given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that sacrament to be truely and verily

the bodie and bloud of Christ, effectuously by grace and spirite: which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had ment of the grosse and carnal being, which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion, should bee in deede under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincolne, somewhat interrupting him, said.

"Well M. Ridley, thus you wrest places to your owne pleasure: for wheras S. Augustine saith that the whole christian world, is subject to the sea of Rome without any limitation, and useth these wordes, *In transmarinis, & longe remotis terris,* only to expresse the latitude of the dominion of the sea of Rome, willing therby to declare that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that sea, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure yee will not denie, but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe."

Rid. "In deed my lord, if S. Austen had said *simpliciter totus mundus,* and not added *in transmarinis,* it had been without limitation: but in that he said *totus mundus in transmarinis partibus,* all the countries beyond the seas, hee himselfe dooth limit the universall proposition, declaring how farre he meant by *totus mundus.*"

The bishop not staying for his answere, did proceede, saying.

Linc. "Wel if I would stay upon this place, I could bring many mo places of the fathers, for the confirmation thereof: but we have certaine instructions, according to the which we must proceede, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but onely to take your answers to certaine articles, and used this in the way of exhortation,

tion, in the which you interrupted me; wherefore I will returne thither againe.

" Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a citie on the mountaine, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with your selfe, that the church of Christ is *catholica*, catholick, which is deducted of κατὰ ὅλον, that is, *per omnia;* so that Christs church is universallie spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuite of England, not contained in the compasse of Germanie and Saxonie, as your church is.

" Wherfore maister Ridley, for Gods love be ye not singular: acknowledge with all the realme the trueth. It shall not be (as you alledge) prejudiciall to the crowne, for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you knowe that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keies. The sword is given to kings, and rulers of countries: the keies were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successours. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, wee with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and quoene, who hath the temporall sword: but as concerning matters of religion, as touching Gods quarrell and his word, we acknowledge an other head: and as the king and the queene their highnesses doe in all worldlie affaires, justlie challenge the prerogative and primacie, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heades and rulers, but members of Christs bodie. Why therefore should yee sticke at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yeelded?

" Wherefore master Ridley, you shall not onely

not doe injurie to the crowne, and be prejudiciall to their majesties honour, in acknowledging with all Christendome the popes holinesse to bee supreme head of Christs church here militant in earth, but doe a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of their highnesses. Thus if you will doe, revoking together all your errours, acknowledging with the residue of the realme, the common and the publicke fault, you shall doe that all men most heartily desire: you shall bring quietnesse to your conscience, and health to your soule: then shall wee with great joy, by the authoritie committed to us from the cardinalls grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to bee no longer a rotten, but a livelie member of the same. But if you shal stil be singular, if you shall still and obstinatelie persever in your errours, stubbornely maintaining your former heresies, then we must against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, least the rottennesse of one parte in processe of time, putrifie and corrupt the whole bodie: then must we confesse and publish you to be none of ours: then must we yeeld you up to the temporal judges, of whom except it otherwise please the king and queenes highnesse, you must receive punishment by the lawes of this realme, due for heretickes.

" Wherefore maister Ridley consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soule, which Christ so dearely bought with his precious bloud, do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in Gods sight: enforce not us to doe all that we may doe, which is onlie to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we doe not, nor cannot condemne you to die (as most untruelie hath

hath been reported of us) but that is the temporall judges office, we onely declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenour of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination; so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporall rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to doe that wee maie. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which wee most heartilie desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and againe to adjoine you to the unitie of the church."

Then maister Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake.

"My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can erre[6], without the which no man can be saved, the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithfull: neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confesse the same to be spread throughout all the world: and wheras Christs sacraments are duely ministred, his gospell truely preached and followed, there doth Christs church shine as a citie upon an hill, and as a candle in the candlesticke. But rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there and nowhere else is the foundation of Christs church. But I am fully perswaded that Christs church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truely received, and effectually followed. And in that the church

[6] *No man can erre.*] "He meaneth, in which no general errour can be finally." Fox's Margin.

of

of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsaile of Vincentius Lyranensis, whom I am sure you will allowe, who giving preceptes howe the catholicke church may bee in all schismes and heresies knowne, writeth in this manner: *When* (saith hee) *one part is corrupted with heresies, then preferre the whole world before that one part: but if the greatest part be infected, then preferre antiquitie.*

"In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of christianity to be infected with the poyson of the sea of Rome, I repaire to the usage of the primitive church, which I finde cleane contrary to the popes decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone; that it is made unlawfull to the laitie to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherfore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church."

Linc. "Maister Ridley, these faultes which you charge the sea of Rome withall, are in deede no faultes. For first it was never forbid the laity[7], but that they might if they demaunded, receive under both kindes. You know also, that Christ

[7] *Forbid the laity.*] The bishop can mean only that the cup had never been forbidden to the laity by any special decree of a provincial council, or otherwise, in England. But even here, by the constitutions of archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1281, it is delared, that in small churches, it is allowed to none but the officiating priest, to receive the blood under the species of consecrated wine. See Ecclesiastical Laws, vol. ii. Wilkins, &c. And it is certain, that the council of Constance, in the year 1415, had declared, that the denial of the cup ought to be deemed as a law, which no person is at liberty to disapprove or alter; or if he does, he is to be disowned as a heretick. *L'enfant's History of the Council of Constance*, vol. i. p. 367. Engl. edit. Barnes's *Works*, p. 301, &c. Jewel's *Works*, p. 32, 54. The council of Trent, after much debate, in the year 1562, referred the matter to the sole decision of the pope. See *Canones et Decreta*. Sess. xxii.

after

after his resurrection, at what time hee went with his apostles to Galile opened himselfe by breaking of bread. You knowe that Saint Paule after his long sayling towardes Rome brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawfull to minister the sacrament under the forme of bread only: and yet the church hadde just occasion to decree, that the laitie should receive in one kinde onelie, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not whollie both fleshe and bloud under the forme of bread. Therefore to take awaie their opinion, and to establish better the peoples faith, the holie ghost in the church thought good to decree, that the laitie should receive onely in one kinde: and it is no newes for the church upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you reade in the Actes of the Apostles, that S. Paule writing to certaine of the Gentiles, which hadde received the gospel, biddeth them to abstaine from thinges stifled, and from bloud, so that this seemeth to be an expresse commaundement: yet who will saie but that it is lawefull to eate bloudings? howe is it lawefull, but by the permission of the church?"

Ridley. "My lord, such things as S. Paul enjoyned to the gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jewes to Christ, were only commandementes of time, and respected not the successors: but Christs commaundement, *Do this* (that is, that which he did) *in remembrance*, which was not to minister in one kinde onely, was not a commandement for a time, but to persever to the worlds ende."

But the bishop of Lincolne not attending to this aunsweere, without any stay proceeded in this oration.

"So

"So the church seemeth to have authoritie by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ saide hee woulde send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles al truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I saide before, in this sorte to reason the matter with you, but have certaine instructions ministred unto us, according to the tenour of the which we must proceed, proposing certaine articles, unto the which we require your answere directly, either affirmatively, either negatively to every of them, either denying them, either granting them without farther disputations or reasoning: for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as wee have done: the which articles, you shal heare now, and to morrow at eight of the clock in S. Maries church we wil require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceede: and if you require a copie of them, you shall have it, pen, inke, and paper, also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the universitie."

The Articles.

1 We do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high universitie of Oxford, Anno 1554, in the moneths of Aprill, May, June, July, or in some one or mo of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and naturall bodie of Christ, after the con-

consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2 Item, that in the yeare and moneths aforesaid, thou hast publickly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar, remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3 Item, that in the said yeare and moneths, thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the masse is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

4 Item, that in the yeare, place, and moneths aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholasticall censure of this schoole, as hereticall and contrarie to the catholicke faith, by the worshipfull M. doctor Weston prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men, of both the universities.

5 Item, that all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, famous, and openly knowne by publike fame, as well to them neere hand, and also to them in distant places farre off.

Examination upon the sayd Articles.

All these articles I thought good here to place togither, that as often as hereafter rehearsall shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same, and not to trouble the storie with severall repetitions thereof.

After these articles were read, the bishops tooke counsaile togither. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said; "These are the very same articles which you in open disputation here in the universitie did maintaine and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answere affirmatively, or negativelie."

Rid,

Rid. "Why my lord, I supposed your gentlenesse had beene such, that you would have given mee space untill to morrow, that upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answere."

Linc. "Yea M. Ridley, I meane not that your answeres now shall be prejudiciall to your answeres to morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawfull to you to adde, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to morrow what you will."

Rid. "Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was saide that after disputations I should have a copie thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should thinke good. It was meete also that I should have seene what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentlenes in giving mee a time: but this gentlenesse is the same, that Christ had of the high priests. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemne me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so in like sort the high priests said, *that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death,* but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the meanes therefore that he might." Then spake D. Weston, one of the audience.

West. "What? doe you make the king pilate?"

Rid. "No master doctor, I doe but compare your deedes with Cayphas his deedes and the high priests, which would condemne no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Linc. "M. Ridley, wee mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefite of answering to morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to mor-

row

row you shall change, take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the meane season wee require you to answere directly to everie article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Rid. "Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to morrow, and yet will take mine answeres out of hand; first, I require the notaries, to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point you are authorised from the pope. Therfore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authoritie of the pope: and if your lordship will give me leave, I wil shew the causes, which moveth me thereunto."

Linc. "No M. Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Rid. "I will be short: I pray your lordships suffer mee to speak in few words."

Lincolne. "No master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers eares."

Rid. "Why my lord, suffer me to speake three words."

Linc. "Well M. Ridley to morrow you shall speake forty. The time is farre past: therefore we require your answere determinately. What say you to the first article?" and therupon rehearsed the same.

Rid. "My protestation alwaies saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authoritie, in that you are legate to the pope, I answere thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take really for *verè*, for spiritually by grace and efficacie, then it is true that the naturall bodie and bloud of Christ is in the sacrament *verè et realiter*, in deed and really: but if you take these tearmes so grosselie, that

that you would conclude thereby a naturall bodie having motion, to be contained under the formes of bread and wine *verè et realiter*, then really is not the bodie and bloud of Christ in the sacrament, no more then the Holy Ghost is in the element of water[s] in our baptism." Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincolne willed him to answere either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to denie it.

Ridley. "My lord, you knowe that where anie *æquivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction bee given, no direct answere can bee made: for it is one of Aristotles fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one aunswere. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament

[s] *In the element of water.*] Some have maintained, that by virtue of the word of God, and of prayer, the water in baptism, was in a sort *transubstantiated* into the Holy Ghost; or at least that the Holy Spirit was *concomitant with*, lurking in, brooding upon, the water, in such a manner, as *ex opere operato*, and in the nature of a *physical* operation, to be *applied* to the baptized person by the action of dipping or sprinkling. "Plures item ab aliis cumulantur errores in baptismo, quem aliqui, &c." See *Reformatio legum ecclesiastic:* Tit. 2. cap. 18. "As therefore in baptisme is given unto us the Holy Ghost, and pardon of our sinnes, which yet *lye not lurking in the water*; so in the lordes supper is given unto us the communion of Christes body and bloud, without any *transubstantiation*, or *including* of the same in the bread. By baptisme, the olde man is put off, and the newe man put on, yea, Christe is put on, but without transubstantiating the water. And even so it is in the lordes supper." Bradford's *Sermon on the Lordes Supper*. Signat G. 5. edit. 1581. "I meane that he is present in the ministration and receaving of that holy supper, according to his own institution and ordinaunce: like as in baptisme Christ and the Holy Ghost be not *in* the water, or fonte, but *be given in the ministration*, or to them that be duely baptized in the water." Cranmer's *Answere to Gardiner*, p. 172. edit 1551.

is

is the verie true and naturall bodie and bloud of Christ, even that which was borne of the Virgine Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quicke and the dead, only we differ *in modo*, in the way and maner of being: we confesse all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by Gods word therunto perswaded, confesse Christs naturall bodie to be in the sacrament in deede by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthilie that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christs body and drinketh his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion: and you make a grosser kinde of being, enclosing a naturall, a lively and a mooving bodie under the shape or forme of bread and wine.

"Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answere: that in the sacrament of the aultar is the naturall bodie and bloud of Christ *vere et realiter*, in deed and really, if you take these tearmes in deede and really for spiritually by grace and efficacie; for so everie worthie receiver receiveth the verie true bodie of Christ: but if you meane really and in deed, that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the formes of bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christs body in the sacrament really and in deed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered.

Rid. "Alwaies my protestation reserved, I answer thus: that in the sacrament is a certaine chaunge, in that that bread which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christs

Christs bodie; and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his bodie; that even as the mortall bodie was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internall soule fed with the heavenly foode of Christs bodie, which the eyes of faith seeth, as the bodily eies seeth only bread. Such a sacramentall mutation I grant to bee in the bread and wine; which truely is no small chaunge, but such a chaunge as no mortall man can make, but onelie that omnipotency of Christs word."

Then the bishop of Lincolne willed him to answere directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Rid. "That notwithstanding this sacramentall mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the which the bodie is in like sort nourished, as the soule by grace and spirite, with the bodie of Christ. Even so in baptisme the bodie is washed with the visible water, and the soule is clensed from al filth by the invisible Holie Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the sacrament of the Lords supper the bread ceaseth not to bee bread."

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmativelie to the second article. The bishop of Lincolne declared a difference betweene the sacrament of the altar and baptisme, because that Christ said not by the water, this is the Holie Ghost, as he did by the bread, *This is my body.*

Then master Ridley recited saint Austen which conferred both the sacraments the one with other: but the bishop of Lincolne notwithstanding thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answere. To whome Ridley said.

"Christ

" Christ as S. Paule writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his; and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving: but to say that thereby sinnes are taken awaie (which wholie and perfectlie was done by Christs passion, of the which the communion is onelie a memorie) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christs passion: for the sacrament was instituted that we receiving it and therby recognising and remembring his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise dooth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christs passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vaine."

The notaries penned this his answere to be affirmativelie. Then said the bishop of Lincolne:

" Indeed as you alleadge out of S. Paule, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloudie sacrifice upon the crosse: yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloudie[9], in the remembrance of that, by the which sinnes are forgiven: the which is no derogation of Christes passion."

Then recited the bishop of Lincolne the fourth article. To the which M. Ridley answered:

" That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true in that those his assertions

[9] *Sacrifice, but not bloudie.*] See Fox's *Acts*, p. 1322.

" *Pie.* What say you to that council, where it is sayde that the priest doeth offer an *unbloudie sacrifice* of the body of Christ?"

" *Ridley.* I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

" *Pie.* But he offereth an unbloudy sacrifice."

" *Rid.* It was called unbloudy; and is offered, after a certaine maner, and in a myterie, and as a *representation* of that bloudie sacrifice: and he doth not lie which saith Christ to be *offered.*

were

were condemned as heresies, although unjustlie; false in that it was saide they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sorte ordered, that it was farre from anie schoole acte."

This answere penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne rehearsed the fift article. To the which hee answered:

Rid. "That the premisses were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evill of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to heare what every man reported."

This answere also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne said:

"To morrow at eight of the clock you shall appeare before us in S. Maries church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answere to the first article (for it was long before he was understood) if it will please you to write your answere, you shall have penne, inke, and paper, and bookes, such as you shal require, but if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it:" so hee charging the maior with him, declaring also to the maior that he should suffer him to have a penne and inke, dismissed M. Ridley, and sent for master Latimer; who being brought to the divinitie schoole, there taried till they called for him.

Master Latimer appeareth before the Commissioners.

Now after master Ridley was committed to the maior, then the bishop of Lincolne commanded the baliffees to bring in the other prisoner, who eftsoones as he was placed, said to the lords,

"My

" My lords, if I appeare againe, I pray you not to send for me untill you be readie. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine olde age to tarrie so long gazing uppon the cold walles." Then the bishop of Lincolne said:

" M. Latimer, I am sorie you are brought so soone, although it is the balyffes fault, and not mine: but it shall be amended."

Then master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchiefe on his head, and upon it a night cappe or two, and a great cap (such as townes men use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin) wearing an old threed bare bristow frise gown girded to his body with a penie leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his necke upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincolne began on this manner:

" M. Latimer, you shall understand that I and my lords here have a commission from my Lord Cardinall Pooles grace legate *a latere*, to this realme of England, from our most reverent father in God the popes holinesse, to examine you upon certaine opinions and assertions of yours, which you as well heere openlie in disputations in the yeare of our Lord, 1554, as at sundrie and divers other times did affirme, maintaine, and obstinatelie defend. In the which commission bee speciallie two pointes: the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannull these your errours, and togither with all this realme, yea all the worlde confesse the truth, we upon due repentance of your part should receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a straied sheepe, but adjoine you againe to the unity of Christs church, from the which you in the time

of schisme fell: So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you: I desire you to returne thither from whence you went.

" Consider M. Latimer, that without the unitie of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errours. Therefore what should stay you to confesse that which all the realme confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queene their majesties have renounced and all the realme recanted? It was a common errour, and it is now of all confessed: it shall bee no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider master Latimer, that within these twenty yeeres this realme also with all the world confessed one church; acknowledged in Christes church an head; and by what meanes and for what occasion it cut off it selfe from the rest of christianitie, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is wel known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the sea of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are deade, to whome the rehearsall would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it hath been teamed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places as well of the antient fathers, as the expresse word of God may be proved."

With that master Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cappe and kerchiefe from his eares.

The bishop proceeded saying: " for Christ spake expresly to Peter saying, *pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas*, the which word doth not onelie declare a certaine ruling of Christs flocke, but includeth also a certaine preeminence and government, and therefore is the king called *Rex* à regendo: so that in saying *rege*, Christ declared a power which he

he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement; and so in all ages hath it remained in the sea of Rome. This if you shall confesse with us; and acknowledge with all the realme your errours and false assertions, then shall you doe that which wee most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authoritie given unto us, minister unto you uppon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queene their majesties were not ashamed to submitte themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet least the putrification and rottennesse of all the bodie might be noysome, and doe dammage to the head also, they (as I saide) most humblie submitted themselves to my Lord Cardinall his Grace, by him, as a legate to the popes holinesse, to bee partakers of the reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persever in your blindnes, if you will not acknowledge your errours, if you, as you stand now alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schisme and heresie you will divide your selfe from our church, then must we proceede to the second part of the commission, which wee would be loath to doe, that is, not to condemne you, for that we cannot doe (that the temporall sword of the realme, and not we, will do) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are *filius perditionis*, a lost childe, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporall judges, permitting them to proceede against you, according to the tenour of their lawes.

"Therefore master Latimer, for Gods love consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the schoole, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerat not your death, and especiallie remember your soules health, and quiet of your conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God, for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vaine glorie have the upper hand, humiliate your selfe, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit your selfe to the determination of the church, doe not force us to doe all that we may doe, let us rest in that part which we most heartilie desire, and I, for my part" (then the bishop put off his cap) "againe with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then M. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbowe) and asked whether his lordshippe had said: and the bishop answered yea.

Lati. "Then will your lordship give me leave to speake a word or two?"

Linc. "Yea master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talke, without railing or taunts."

Lati. "I beseech your lordship, licence me to sit downe."

Linc. "At your pleasure master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Lati. "Your lordship gentlie exhorted me in many wordes to come to the unitie of the church. I confesse (my lord) a catholicke church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may erre, without the which unitie of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by Gods word

word that this church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome onelie, as you say: and me thought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirme the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him *regere*, governe his people. Indeede my lord, saint Peter did well and truelie his office, in that he was bidde *regere*: but since the bishoppes of Rome have taken a new kinde of *regere*. Indeed, they ought to *regere*, but how my lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in, and diched in. They must *regere*, but *secundum verbum Dei*: they must rule, but according to the word of God.

"But the bishops of Rome have turned *regere secundum verbum Dei*, into *regere secundum voluntatem suam*; they have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their owne pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best. There is a booke set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst other, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*, and the argument which hee bringeth forth for the proofe of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomie, where it is said; If there riseth anie controversie among the people, as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter according to the law of God; so it must be taken. This booke perceiving this authoritie to bee given to the priests of the olde lawe, taketh occasion to proove the same to be given to the bishops and other the clergie of the new law: but in proving this matter, where as it was said there, as the priests of the order of Leviticus should determine the matter according to Gods law, that *(according to Gods law)* is left out, and onelie is recited, *as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter*,

matter, so it ought to be taken of the people: a large authoritie I ensure you. What clipping of Gods coine is this?" with the which tearmes the audience smiled. "This is much like the *regere* which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authoritie to the clergie, to rule all things as they will. Let them keepe themselves within their commission. Now I trust my lord, I do not raile yet."

Linc. "No M. Latimer, your talke is more like taunts then railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor knowe not of any such, I can say nothing therin."

Lati. "Yes my lord, the booke is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is bishop of Glocester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge." With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Glocester sate there in commission.

Then the bishop of Glocester stoode up, and saide it was his booke[1].

Lat.

[1] *Was his booke.*] The book referred to is the sermon of Brookes, which we have had occasion more than once to cite in the progress of these notes; and is intitled a "Sermon very notable, fruitful, and godly, made at Pauls Cross, the 12th day of Novemb. in the first year of the gracious reign of our sovereign lady Q. Mary." The place to which Latimer alludes is as follows:

The catholic church hath "authoritie to judge, and decide all maters of controversy in religion. For if the Scripture of the olde lawe in Moses time was not made the highe judge of controversies, (being a thinge itselfe in divers pointes called in controversy) but authority in judgemente was given alwaies by Gods owne mouthe to the learned, and elders of the synagogue, to whose judgement all were bounde to stande, and that under pain of present death, as appeareth in the booke of Deuteronomie (chap. 17); if we Christains will not be counted in a woorsse state and condition, than the Jewes were, needes must wee graunt to the catholike church like authoritie

Lat. "Was it yours my lord? In deed I knewe not your lordship, neither ever did see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightnes of the sunne shining betwixt you and me." Then the audience laughed againe: and M. Latimer spake unto them saying, "Why my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answere upon life and death. *Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.*"

The bishop of Lincolne commaunded silence, and then said:

"Master Latimer, if you had kept your selfe within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffes and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the bishop of Glocester saide in excusing of his booke,

"M. Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have."

Then M. Latimer interrupted him saying:

"Loe you looke for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the schoole of oblivion, making the bare walles my library, keeping me so long in prison without booke or pen and inke: and now you let me loose to come and answere to articles. You deale with mee as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour is cherished, and hath good counsaile given him how to encounter with his enemie. The other for envy or lacke of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength

ritie of judgemente, for the decision of all controversies in our religion; whom if God didde not assist evermore with the true intelligence of Scripture, then should the Scripture stande the church in as good stede, as a paier of spectacles shoulde stande a blinde frier, &c." Signat. B 4.

In connection with this extract, and the argument between Brookes and Latimer, the reader will do well to consult the xxth *Article of the Church of England.*

and

and lustie; the other is starke of his limbes, and almost dead for feeblenesse. Think you, that to run through this man with a speare is not a goodly victorie?"

But the bishop of Glocester interrupting his answere proceeded, saying;

"I went not about to recite any places of scripture in that place of my book: for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I onely in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense: that if in the olde lawe the priests had power to decide matters of controversies, much more then ought the authoritie to be given to the clergie in the newe lawe: and I pray you in this point what availeth the rehearsall, *secundum legem Dei?*"

Lati. "Yes my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authoritie to be given to the spiritualty to decide matter of religion, and as my lord said even now, to *regere:* but they must doe it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam, dum* according to the word and lawe of God, and not after their owne will, after their own imaginations and fantasies."

The bishop of Glocester would have spoke more, saying that the bishop of Lincolne said, that they came not to dispute with M. Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to M. Ridley. But M. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Glocester: "well my lord, I could wish more faithfull dealing with Gods word, and not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

But the bishop of Lincolne not attending to this saying of maister Latimer, proceeded in rehearsing the articles in forme and sense as I declared before

in

in the examination of the articles, proposed to M. Ridley, and required maister Latimers answere to the first. Then M. Latimer making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answeres it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authoritie of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queene their majesties subject and not the popes, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them; required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or doe, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authoritie that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken: but hee required him to answere briefelie affirmatively, or negatively to the first article, and so recited the same againe: and M. Latimer answered as followeth.

"I doe not deny (my lord) that in the sacrament by spirite and grace is the verie body and bloud of Christ, because that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and bloud of Christ, and is made partaker therby of the merits of Christs passion: but I denie that the body and bloud of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament as you would have it."

Linc. "Then maister Latimer, you answere affirmatively."

Lati. "Yea, if you meane of that grosse and carnall beeing, which you do take."

The notaries tooke his answere to be affirmatively.

Linc. "What say you M. Latimer to the second article?" and recited the same.

Lati. "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omni-

omnipotencie of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have that dignity to exhibite Christs body[2], and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignitie, because now that which was common bread hath the dignitie to exhibit Christs body; for where as it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to bee so taken, but as holie breade sanctified by Gods word."

With that the bishop of Lincolne smiled, saying;

"Loe master Latimer, see what stedfastnesse is in your doctrine: That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holie bread, you now make your communion holy bread.",

Lati. "Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is an holy bread indeed."

But the bishop of Lincolne interrupted him and sayd:

"O, you make a difference betweene holy bread and holy bread" (with that the audience laughed). "Wel master Latimer, is not this your answere, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?"

Lati. "Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himselfe calleth it bread, S. Paul calleth it

[2] *To exhibite Christes Body.*] "Breead and wine be signes exhibityve, *that is to say*, such signes as do *give*, the things signified." Martin Bucer in Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 131, Appendix. See also p. 133, ibid. "But in *the other signes*, which some call *exhibitive*, is there not only a *signification* of the thing, but also a *declaration of a gift*, yea, in a certain manner, a *giving* also. As baptisme signifieth not onely the cleansing of the conscience from sinne, by the merits of Christes blood, but also *is* a verie cleansing from sinne." Sermon on the Lord's Supper, by John Bradford. Edit. 1581. Signat. II 1.

bread,

bread, the doctors confesseth the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same; and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christs body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answere to bee affirmativelie.

Linc. "What saie you to the third question?" and recited the same.

Lati. "No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him againe, neither can the priest offer up Christ againe for the sinnes of man, which he tooke away *by offering himselfe once for all* (as saint Paul saith) upon the crosse, neither is there any propitiation for our sinnes, saving his crosse only."

So the notaries penned his answere to this article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. "What say you to the fourth, master Latimer?" and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when maister Latimer answered not, the bishoppe asked him whether hee heard him or no?

Lati. "Yes, but I doe not understand what you meane thereby."

Linc. "Mary only this, that these your assertions were condemned by M. doctor Weston as heresies: is it not so M. Latimer?"

Lat. "Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries tooke his answere, to this article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. "What say you, maister Latimer, to the fift article?" and recited it.

Lati.

Lat. " I knowe not what you meane by these tearmes. I am no lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainely."

Linc. " In that we proceed according to the lawe, we must use their tearmes also. The meaning onely is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evill spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouthes of the people."

Lat. " I cannot tell how much nor what men talke of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

This answere taken, the bishop of Lincolne said:

" M. Latimer, we meane not that these your answeres shall be prejudiciall to you. To morrow you shall appear before us againe, and then it shall be lawfull for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to morrowe, you will not be ashamed to confesse the truth."

Lati. " Now my lord I pray you give mee licence in three words to declare the causes why I have refused the authoritie of the pope."

Linc. " Nay M. Latimer, to morrow you shall have licence to speake forty words."

Lati. " Nay my lords, I beseech you to doe with mee now as it shall please your lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow againe."

Linc. " Yes M. Latimer, you must needes appeare againe to morrow."

Lati. " Truely my lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point: you shall give me respite in vaine. Therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to morrow."

Lincolne. " Yes, for wee trust, God will worke with you against to morrowe. There is no remedie.

remedie, you must needes appeare again to morrow at eight of the clocke in S. Maries church." And forthwith the bishop charged the maior with M. Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clocke at afternoone.

Here followeth the second session.

The next daie following (which was the first daie of October) somewhat after eight of the clocke, the said lords repaired to saint Maries church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissewe and silke, then appeared maister Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishops feete, which table had a silke clothe cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seates in quadrate forme, partlie for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaile delivery) and heades of the universitie to sit, and pardy to keepe off the prease of the audience: for the whole bodie as well of the universitie as of the towne, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After M. Ridleyes appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincolne spake in manner following.

"Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused your self of that wherof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for anie obstinacie towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but onelie in respect of them whose persons we beare; neither (you said) for anie contempt that you beare to this worshipfull audience, which although

justlie

justlie maie, yet in this case require no such humilitie of you; neither for anie derogation of honour to my lord cardinals Grace, in that he descended from the regall bloud, in that hee is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for as touching those points, you said you with all humilitie would honour, reverence, and worship his grace: but in that he is legate to the most reverent father in God the popes holinesse" (with that the bishop with all then present put off their cappes, but M. Ridley mooved not his) "you sayd you ne could, ne would by anie meanes be induced to give him honour: but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the paines to moove your bonet, we will take the paines to cause your bonet to be taken from you: except you pretend sicknesse, as yesterdaie you did not."

Ridl. "I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterdaie, that is, onely that hereby it maie appeare that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit anie authoritie or power that shal come from the pope, and not for anie pride of minde (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honor due to my lord cardinals Grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cappe away, your lordship may doe as it shall please you: it shall not offend me, but I shall bee content with your ordinance in that behalfe."

Lin.

Lin. "Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterdaie, we must do also as we did then;" and forthwith one of the bedles verie hastilie snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincolne began the examination in sense following.

"Master Ridley, yesterday we tooke your answer to certaine articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thorowlie satisfied with your answere then to the first article, neither could the notaries take anie determinate answere of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the maior that you should have pen, paper, and inke, yea anie books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: wee licensed you then also, to alter your former answers this daie at your pleasure: Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same minde now that you were in yesterdaie (which wee would not wish), or contrarie, contented to revoke al your former assertions, and in all points content to submit your selfe to the determination of the universall church; and I for my part most earnestlie exhort you" (and therewith he put off his cap) "not because my conscience pricketh me, as you saide yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

"Yesterdaie I brought forth amongst other Saint Austen, to prove that authoritie hath alwaies beene given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words farre contrarie to S. Austens meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to bee applied onelie to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas in deed the processe of S. Augustines words will not admit that your interpreta-

tion. For he sayth not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c. but first, *totus mundus Christianus Romanæ Ecclesiæ subjectus est;* all the Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and afterward addeth *in transmarinis partibus*, beyond the sea, but onelie to augment the dominion of the sea of Rome."

But maister Ridley still persevered in his former answere, saying: I am sure my lord you have som skill in cosmographie, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mare mediterraneum*, cast betweene Europe and Africa, in the which he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I should saie the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand: and here manie words were spent upon the interpretation of the saine place of S. Austen.

After long disceptation, the bishop of Lincolne saide, that the meaning of S. Augustine might be knowne by the consent of other the doctors, and rehearsed divers.

But maister Ridley required the rehearsall of the places, and to reade the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishops rehearsed, being proponed in other tearmes in the doctors, would admit a contrarie meaning and interpretation: but in that the booke out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, was none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawne out of the doctors by some studious man; he could not recite the verie words of the doctors.

Then after he came to Cyrillus, which (as he said) made against master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon his owne alledging in his Common Places; and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vaine, because all such bookes were

were burned a little before [3], wherefore he passed it over.

"Cyrillus also in another place prooving to the Jewes that Christ was come, useth this reason, aultars are erected in Christs name in Britaine and in farre countreies: *Ergo*, Christ is come. But we may use the contrarie, of that reason: altars are plucked downe in Britaine: *ergo*, Christ is not come. A good argument *à contrariis*: I will stand to it in the schooles by and with anie man. Yee see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jewes, to prove that Christ is not come."

Doctor Ridley smiling, answered: "your lordship is not ignorant that this word *altare* in the Scripture signifieth aswell the altar whereupon the Jewes were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lords supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this word *altare*, not that the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (*aultars are erected in Christs name, ergo Christ is come*) hee meaneth that the communion is ministred in his remembrance, *ergo*, Christ is come: for the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot bee, except the thing it selfe bee past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in the remembrance of Christs passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the aultars, it was done upon just considerations [4], for that they seemed to come too

[3] *Burned a little before.*] Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 132. edit. 1790. Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 124. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 348. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1450.

[4] *Just Considerations.*] In Fox's *Acts*, p. 1211, 1212, is printed a letter from the council to bishop Ridley, to which are subjoined six reasons, transmitted to him by the same authority,

too nigh to the Jewes usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time more better ministred, more duely received, than in these latter daies when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Linc. "A godly receiving I promise you, to set an oyster table in steed of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive: and yet when your table was constituted, you could never bee content, in placing the same nowe east, now north, now one way, now another, untill it pleased God of his goodnesse to place it cleane out of the church."

Rid. "Your lordships unreverent tearms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings than other men now do from other things."

Lin. "As for that M. Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answeres to our articles:" and eftsoones hee read the first article in maner above specified.

"Now M. Ridley, what say you to the first article? if you have brought your answere in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then M. Ridley tooke a sheet of paper out of his bosome, and began to reade that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincolne commanded

thority, upon which this practice was to be adopted. Comp. Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 95—98. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. 2. p. 227, 228. Strype's *Cran*, p. 227—230. In the same year came out a treatise against Altars, and in vindication of Tables, intitled, "*The Paterne of the Popes Botereulx, commonly called the High Altare, compiled by W. S.* (William Salisbury) *in the year of our Lorde* 1550."

the

the bedle to take it from him. But he desired licence to reade it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Rid. "Why my lord, will you require my answere, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you my lord, let the audience beare witnesse in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasures: therefore let the audience be witnesses to your doings."

Lin. "Well M. Ridley, we will first see what you have written: and then if we shall thinke it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, wee will take none at all of you."

With that M. Ridley seeing no remedie, delivered it to an officer, which immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who after hee had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, *that it contained words of blasphemie, therefore he would not fill the eares of the audience therewithall and so abuse their patience*: notwithstanding M. Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors sayings for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincolne saide; "In the first part M. Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answeres so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authoritie or jurisdiction of the popes holinesse."

Rid. "No my lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may heare it;" but the bishop of

Lincolne would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemie.

Then the bishop of Lincolne recited the first article, and required maister Ridleies answere to it. Then maister Ridley said, that his answere was there in writing, and desired that it might be published; but the bishop would not reade the whole, but here and there a peece of it. So the notaries tooke his answere, that hee referred him to his answere in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, M. Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answere, and maister Ridley referred him to his answere in writing, exhibited nowe, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answeres were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this maner rehearsed, taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Glocester began an exhortation to move M. Ridley to turne.

"If you would once emptie your stomacke, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and togither with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily bee perduced to acknowledge one church with us, to confesse one faith with us, and to beleeve one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularitie of his owne wit: so that if you overthrowe the singularitie of Ridleys witte, then must needes the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember wel M. Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *wo, wo be to*

them

them which are singular and wise in their owne conceites.

" But you will say here, it is true that the prophet saith; but how knowe you that I am wise in mine owne conceite? Yes, maister Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholicke church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures: you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will yee know the truth herein? If you stand to your owne interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your owne judgement, then are you singular in your own conceit, then can you not avoide the woe which the prophet speaketh of.

" Wherefore, if you have no staie but the catholicke church in matters of controversie, except you will rest upon the singularitie and wisedome of your owne braine, if the prophet most truelie saith, *woe, wo be to them that are wise in their owne conceite*; then for Gods love maister Ridley stand not singular, bee not you wise in your owne conceite, please not your selfe over much. How were the Arrians, the Manicheis, the Eutichians, with other divers heretikes which have been in the church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? by reasoning in disputations? No, truely the Arrians had mo places [5] of Scriptures for the confir-

[5] *Had mo places.*] No sacrifices are to be considered too great, any thing is to be attempted, if only the *authority of the church* may thereby be maintained. The Scriptures themselves

confirmation of their heresie, than the catholikes for the defence of the trueth. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that wee all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversie? If we our selves, then be we singular and wise in our owne conceits, then cannot we avoide the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

"It remaineth therefore that we submit our selves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whome God promised to remaine to the worlds end, to whom hee promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore M. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgement: if you will not be wise and singular in your owne judgement, captivate your owne understanding, subdue your reason, and submit your selfe to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he indevoured in many moe words, amplifying and inlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoricke, to move

selves shall be betrayed, and scandalized. This was no sudden fanatical flight of the bishop of Glocester. He was wont to maintain it in his solemn discourses; and we shall find below that he again repeated it in the next year, in a set oration addressed to Cranmer. See *Sermon made at Paules Crosse the 12th daie of Novembre.* Signat. D 2, 3. Watson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, touches upon the same argument, but with much more moderation, in his two famous sermons, preached A. D. 1551. Signat. B. 7. Compare Life of bishop Stillingfleet, p. 61. A. D. 1710.

affections,

affections, to perswade M. Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom M. Ridley answered in fewe words, that he saide most truely with the prophet, wo be to him which is wise in his owne conceit, but that hee acknowledged no such singularitie in him, ne knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himselfe. And whereas hee sayd M. Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that hee was but a yong Scholler in comparison of M. Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholler, than was M. Cranmer a doctor; so that he confessed that M. Cranmer might have bin his Schoolemaster these manie yeeres. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Glocester interrupted him, saying,

"Why M. Ridley, it is your owne confession; for M. Latimer at the time of his disputations confessed his learning to ly in M. Cranmers books, and M. Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincolne with many words and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turne. But maister Ridley made an absolute answere, that he was fullie perswaded, the religion which he defended to be grounded upon Gods word, and therfore without great offence towards God, great perill and damage of his soule, he could not forsake his maister and Lord God; but desired the bishop to performe his grant, in that his lordship sayd the day before, that he should have licence to shewe his cause, why hee could not with a safe conscience admit the authoritye of the pope; but the bishop of Lincolne saide, that whereas then he had demanded licence to speake three words, he was contented then that he should speak fortie, and that grant he would performe.

Then

Then stepped forth doctor Weston, which sate by and saide, why my lord, he hath spoken foure hundred alreadie.

Maister Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincolne bade him take his licence; but he should speake but fortie, and he would tell them upon his fingers, and eftsoones maister Ridley beganne to speake; but before hee had ended halfe a sentence, the doctours sitting by cryed and sayde, that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

After the bishop of Lincoln which sate in the middest, began to speake as followeth:

"Now I perceive M. Ridley, you will not permit ne suffer us to staie in that point of our commission which wee most desired; for I ensure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et gementes*. For, indeed I for my part, I take God to witnesse, am sorry for you." Wherunto M. Ridley answered,

"I beleeve it well my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soule."

Lin. "Nay not so maister Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornesse in you, that by no meanes you may be perswaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth; but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessitie proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you harken what I shall say:" and forthwith he did reade the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long processe: the tenour of which because it is sufficientlie alreadie expressed before, wee thought meete in this place to omit, for asmuch as they are rather wordes of course, than things

things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that forasmuch as the saide Nicholas Ridley did affirme, maintaine, and stubbornelie, defend certaine opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and naturall body of Christ, and his naturall bloud to bee the sacrament of the altar: *Secondarilie*, in affirming the substance of breade and wine to remaine after the words of the consecration: *Thirdly*, in denying the masse to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no meanes would bee perduced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore the said John of Lincolne, James of Glocester, John of Bristowe, did judge and condemne the said Nicholas Ridley, as an heretike, and so adjudged him presentlie both by word, and also indeed to bee degraduated from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood and all ecclesiasticall order: declaring moreover the saide Nicholas Ridley to bee no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenour of the temporall lawes: and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The last Appearance and Examination of Maister Latimer before the Commissioners.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincolne, master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the maior, and immediately M. Latimer was sent for; but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table where at M. Ridley stood, was removed (because as men reported) M. Latimer had never the degree of a doctor as M. Ridley

Ridley had. But eftsoones as M. Latimer appeared as he did the day before, perceiving no cloath uppon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbowes, and immediatelie spake to the commissioners saying,

" My lords, I besecch your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance; for I am an old man, and have a verie evill backe, so that the prease of the multitude doth me much harme."

Linc. " I am sorrie M. Latimer for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that M. Latimer thanked his lordship, making a verie low curtesie. After this the bishop of Lincolne begamne on this maner.

" Master Latimer, although yesterday after wee had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justlie proceeded to judgement against you, especiallie in that you required the same, yet we having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turne to the catholicke church, deferred farther processe till this day; and nowe according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to heare whether you are content to revoke your hereticall assertions, and submit your selfe to the determination of the church, as we most heartilie desire, and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestlie doe exhort you; either to know, whether you persever still the man that you were, for the which wee would be sorie."

It seemeth that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that M. Latimer interrupted him, saying,

" Your lordship often doth repeat the catholike church, as though I should denie the same. No my lord, I confesse there is a catholike church, to

the

the determination of the which I will stand, but not the church which you call catholike, which sooner might be tearmed diabolike. And whereas you joine together the Romish and catholike church, stay there I pray you. For it is an other thing to say Romish church, and an other thing to say catholike church. I must use heere in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprianus, who at what time he was ascited before certaine bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsell, to trie and examine his opinion, he answered them thus, *In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsell, nor delibertion bee taken.* And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgement, which was most like to bee of the church of Christ, either he which was persecuted, either they which did persecute? *Christ*, said he, *hath foreshewed, that hee that doth follow him, must take up his crosse and follow him.* Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How thinke you then my lords, is it like that the sea of Rome, which hath bin a continuall persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flocke which hath continually beene persecuted of it even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath beene but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection;" which hee proved, beginning at Noes time even to the apostles.

Lin. "Your cause and saint Cyprians is not one, but cleane contrarie, for he suffered persecution for Christes sake and the gospell: but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrarie to the word of God, and the received truth of the church."

M. Latimer interrupting him said, "Yes verilie, my cause is as good as saint Cyprians; for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

But

But Lincolne goeth forth in his talke.

" Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it coulde not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christs comming continually there were very fewe which truelie served God, but after his comming began the time of grace, then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, untill it came unto this perfection, and now hath justlie that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyrannie did resist: there is a divers consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christs comming. But master Latimer, although wee had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet wee hoping by talke somewhat to prevaile with you, appointed you to appeare before us yesterdaie in the divinity schoole, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had licence to say your minde, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors; we thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your state, gave you respite from that time yesterdaie when wee dismissed you, untill this time, and now have called you againe here in this place, by your answeres to learne whether you are the same man you were then or no. Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answere, without further reasoning?" and eftsoones he recited the first article.

Lati. " Alwaies my protestation saved, that by these mine answers, it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships authoritie in that you are legaced by authoritie of the pope,

pope, so that thereby I might seeme to consent to his jurisdiction; to the first article I answere now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthie receiver receiveth the very bodie of Christ, and drinketh his bloud by spirit and grace. But after a corporall being which the Romish church prescribeth, Christs bodie and bloud is not in the sacrament under the formes of bread and wine."

The notaries tooke his answere to be affirmativelie. For the second article hee referred himself to his answeres made before.

After this the bishop of Lincolne recited the third article, and required a determinate answere.

Lati. "Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice, neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries tooke his answere to be affirmativelie.

In like maner did he answere to the other articles, not varying from his answeres made the day before.

After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincolne had exhorted him in like sort to recant as he did master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and master Latimer had answered that he ne could, ne wold denie his master Christ, and his veritie, the bishoppe of Lincolne desired master Latimer to harken to him: and then master Latimer harkning for some new mater and other talk, the bishop of Lincolne read his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their session, and dismissed the audience.

But M. Latimer required the bishop to performe his promise in saying the daie before, that he should have

have licence briefliе to declare the cause why he refused the popes authoritie.

But the bishop said, that now hee could not heare him, neither ought to talke with him[6].

Then master Latimer asked him whether it were not lawfull for him to appeale from this his judgement. And the bishop asked him againe to whom he would appeale. "To the next generall councell," (quoth M. Latimer) "which shall be truelie called in God's name." With that appellation the bishop was content: but he said it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed M. Latimer to the maior, saying, "now he is your prisoner master maior." Because the prease of people was not diminished, each man looking for farther processe, the bishop of Lincolne commanded avoidance, and willed M. Latimer to tarrie till the prease were diminished, least he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued B. Ridley, and M. Latimer, in durance till the sixteenth day of the said moneth of October.

[6] *To talke with him.*] Because he was now cast out of the church: As the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) said to Gibson, "He would not talk with him, because he was an heretic and excommunicate." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 412. And, as Bonner "bade Fecknam to hold his peace; and to call Greene no more *Master Greene*: for, sayd he, you ought not to call an hereticke *Maister*." Fox's *Acts.* p. 1653. These excommunications were a fruitful source of fresh troubles to a vast number of individuals, for actions in other respects innocent, or virtuous. To mention only one instance. John, brother of the famous William Tindal, was abjured, in the year 1530. For what? "For sending five markes to his brother beyond the sea; and for receiving and keeping with him certaine letters from his brother." Fox's *Acts.* p. 950.

A Commu-

A Communication between D. Brookes and D. Ridley, in M. Irish his House, the fifteenth Day of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the meane season upon the fifteenth daie in the morning, and the same yeare abovesaid, the bishop of Glocester, D. Brokes, and the vice chancellor of Oxford Doctor Marshall, with divers other of the chiefe and heades of the same universitie, and manie other moe accompanying them, came unto master Irish his house then maior of Oxford, where doctor Ridley late bishop of London was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Glocester came into the chamber where the said doctor Ridley did lie, hee tolde him for what purpose their comming was unto him, saying, that yet once againe the queenes majesty did offer unto him by them, her gracious mercie, if that he would receive the same, and come home againe to the faith which he was baptised in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destrucion of many. And further said, that if hee would not recant and become one of the catholike church with them, then they must needs (against their will) proceed according to the law, which they would be verie loath to doe, if they might otherwise. "But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devellish opinion, where hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win manie, and do much good. Therfore good master Ridley, consider with your selfe the danger that shall insue both of bodie and soule, if that you shall so wilfully cast your self away in refusing mercie offered unto you at this time."

"My lord," quoth doctor Ridley, "you know my minde fullie herin: and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to Gods word (to his glory be it spoken) the which doctrine the Lord God being my helper, I will maintaine so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my bodie, and in confirmation thereof seale the same with my bloud."

Brook. "Well, you were best M. Ridley not to doe so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well inough, that whosoever is out of the catholike church, cannot bee saved: therefore I say once againe, that whiles you have time and mercie offered you, receive it, and confesse with us the popes holinesse to be the chiefe head of the same church."

Rid. "I marvell that you will trouble me with any such vaine and foolish talk. You know my minde concerning the usurped authoritie of the Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schooles, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk, I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authoritie, and that for divers good and godlie considerations." And here D. Ridley would have reasoned with the saide Brookes bishop of Glocester, of the bishop of Romes authoritie, but could not be suffered; and yet he spake so earnestlie against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not holde his peace, he shold be compelled against his will. And seeing, saith he, that you will not receive the queenes mercie now offered unto you, but stubbornlie refuse the same, we must, against our wils, proceede according to our commission to disgrading, taking from you the dignitie of priesthood.

For

For wee take you for no bishop[7], and therefore we will the sooner have done with you: so, committing you to the secular power, you knowe what doth follow."

Rid. "Do with me as it shal please God to suffer you, I am wel content to abide the same with all my heart."

Brok. "Put off your cap master Ridley, and put upon you this surples."

Rid. "Not I truelie."

Broke. "But you must."

Rid. "I will not."

Broke. "You must, therefore make no more ado, but put this surples upon you."

Rid. "Truelie if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Brok. "Will you not doe it upon you?"

Rid. "No, that I will not."

Brok. "It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Rid. "Doe therein as it shall please you. I am well contented with that, and more than that: the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruellie with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patientlie, how much more doth it become us his servants:" and in saying of these words, they put upon the said D. Ridley the surples, with all the trinkets appertaining to the masse. And as they were putting on the same, D. Ridley did vehemently invey against the Romish bishop and all

7 *For no bishop.*] This is contrary to the acknowledgment made Fox's *Acts*, p. 1545, by another of these commissioners, the bishop of Lincoln, who says, "You were made bishop, according to our lawes." See also the abstract of the sentence of condemnation, Fox, 1603. Comp. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 659—661.

that foolish apparell, calling him antichrist, and the apparell foolish [8] and abhominable, yea too fond for a vice in a play, insomuch that Brokes was exceeding angrie with him, and bade him holde his peace, for he did but raile. Doctor Ridley answered him again, and said, "so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speake against their abhominable dooings, whatsoever hapned unto him for so doing."

Brok. "Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped." At which words one Edridge the reader then of the Greeke lecture standing by, saide to doctor Brookes, "sir, the law is he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged." At which wordes doctor Ridley looke-

[8] *The apparel foolish.*] Ridley's conduct upon this occasion, has been frequently exulted in by the non-conformists (Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 190, 226. edit. 2. Peirce's *Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 31. edit. 2.), as demonstrative of a retractation of the former zeal and steadiness, with which in his controversy with Hooper, and on other occasions, he maintained the usage of the cap and surplice, and the ceremonial distinctions, which were so much the abhorrence of the puritans. And a similar interpretation has been put upon the behaviour of other conforming divines in like circumstances. But the triumph, I apprehend, has no foundation more solid than the narrow views, and the imperfect knowledge of those who indulge in it. It was the ostentatious and multifarious apparatus of the popish massing-priest which was disclaimed by Ridley, and the rest; which how far it differed from the simple and modest ornaments retained by the English reformation, we need not go further to shew, than by referring to an extract given above, p. 187, from the work of one who was soon after himself a bishop: the difference being so great, that Christopherson has hardihood enough to affirm, that the reformation of King Edward had abolished *all* ecclesiastical habits and distinctions. As to Ridley himself, it will appear below that he went to his execution, in a square cap, and in the gown and tippet of a bishop, and so gave the last testimony of adherence which he could to the part which he had borne in this unhappy controversy.

ing

ing earnestlie upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer againe, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well."

So they proceeded in their doings; yet nevertheless docter Ridley was for ever talking things not pleasant to their eares, although one or other bad him holde his peace, least he should be caused against his will.

When as they came to that place whereas doctor Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the singing bread) they bade him hold the same in his hands, And doctor Ridley said, "they shall not come in my hands: for if they doe, they shall fall to the ground for all me:" Then there was one appointed to holde them in his hand, while bishop Brookes read a certain thing in Latine, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the popes law.

Afterward they put a booke in his hand, and withall read (as is before said) a certaine thing in Latine, the effect therof was, "We doe take from you the office of preaching the gospel, &c." At which words doctor Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "Oh Lord God forgive them this their wickednesse."

And as they put upon him the masse geare, so they beganne with the uppermoste garment, in taking it awaie againe, reading a thing in Latine, according to the order contained in the said booke of the popes law. Now when all was taken from him, saving onelie the surples left on his backe, as they were reading and taking it away, doctor Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended verie solemnlie, D. Ridley said unto doctour Brookes, "have you done? If you have done, then give mee leave to talke with you a little concerning these matters." Brookes answered and said, "M. Ridley, wee may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is that we may not talke with anie that be out of the church." Then master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talke, neither will vouchsafe to heare me, what remedie but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenlie Father, who will reforme things that bee amiss, when it shall please him."

At which words they would have beene gone, but master Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little booke of Bertrams doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shal find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgement." Doctor Brookes made no answere to this, but would have bin gone away. Then M. Ridley saide, "Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talke. Well, it bootes not, I will say no more. I will speake of worldlie affaires. I pray you therefore my lord heare me, and be a meane to the queenes majestie, in the behalfe of a great many of poore men, and especially for my poore sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poore living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the sea of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same roome, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queens majestie in their behalfes. You shall heare the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better." Then he reade the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication,

supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speake for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that mooveth me. But I have now done," and with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queens majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him and were put from the same by doctor Boner, then bishop of London. Wherunto Brookes said, "Indeed M. Ridley, your request in this supplication is verie lawfull and honest; therefore I must needes in conscience speake to the queenes majestie for them."

Rid. "I pray you for Gods sake doe so."

Brooks. "I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it; and that is (I feare) because you do not allow the queenes proceedings, but obstinatelie withstand the same, that it will hardlie be granted."

Rid. "What remedie? I can doe no more but speake and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and Gods will be done."

Brok. "I will doe what lieth in me."

The copy of this supplication written to the queene heere followeth.

Master Ridley to the Queenes Majestie.

"It may please your majestie for Christ our Saviours sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poore men) to vouchsafe to heare and understand this mine humble supplication. It is so (honourable princesse) that in the time whiles I was in the ministery of the sea of London, divers poore men tenants thereof, have taken

taken new leases of their tenantries, and holdings, and some have renewed and chaunged their old, and therefore have paied fines and summes of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paules, for the confirmation of the same.

" Now I heare say that the bishop which occupieth the same roome now, wil not allow the aforesaid leases, which must redound to many poore mens utter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may please the same for Christs sake to be unto the foresaid poore men their gracious patronesse and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and yeares renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shal be found (I trust) made without fraud or coven, either of their part, or of mine, and alwaies also the old rents reserved to the sea without any kind of damage thereof: or if this wil not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highnesse, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and yeares, and to have rendred to them againe such sums of money as they paied to mee, and to the chapter-house for their leases and yeres, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shal please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespasse towards your Grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that halfe of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, wil go nigh to restore al such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof, are not set in their leases;

leases: and therfore if that way shal please your highnes they must be known by such waies and means, as your majesty by the advise of men of wisdom and conscience shal appoint: but yet for Christs sake I crave and moste humbly beseech your majesty of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

" I have also a poore sister that came to me out of the North, with three fatherlesse children, for her relieſe, whome I maried after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered indurance at my entrance to the sea of London, not one peny of his moveable goods; for it was almost halfe a yeare after his deposition, afore I did enter into that place: yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paied for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoofe of the church or of the house. And moreover, I had not onely no part of his mooveable goods, but also (as his old receiver and then mine, called M. Stanton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tel whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to heare the advise of men of conscience, and in especiall the archbishop of Yorke, which for that he was continually in my house a yeare or more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things: and also his Grace doth knowe my sister; for whose succour and some releefe, now unto your highnes I make most humble sute.

" The 16. of October. An. 1555. *N. R.*"

This

This degradation being past, and all thinges finished, doctor Brookes called the bailiffes, delivering to them M. Ridley with this charge, to keep him safelie from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then M. Ridley in praising God brast out with these words and said, "God I thanke thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for, if you could, it should surelie be laid in my lap, I see verie well." Whereunto Brookes said, he plaied the part of a proud Pharisey, exalting and praising himselfe.

But M. Ridley saide, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to Gods glorie be it spoken. I confesse my selfe to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of Gods helpe and mercie, and doe dailie call and crie for the same: therefore I pray you have no such opinion in me." Then they departed, and in going awaie, a certain warden of a colledge, of whose name I am not very sure, bade D. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M. Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I praie God (if it be his blessed will) have mercie upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden being in a chafe thereat, said, "I trust that I ſhall never be of your erroneous and divellish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whether you shal go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinateſt and wilfullest man that ever I heard talke since I was borne."

The Behaviour of D. Ridley at his Supper, the Night before his Suffering.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed, and his legs, and as he sate at supper the same night at M. Irishes (who was his keeper) he bade his hostesse, and the rest at the boord, to his marriage: "for," saith he, "to morrow I must be maried;" and so shewed himselfe to be as merie as ever he was at anie time before. And wishing his sister at his mariage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether shee could finde in her heart to be there or no: and he answered, yea, I dare say, with all her heart: at which word hee saide, hee was glad to heare of her so much therein. So at this talke mistris Irish wept.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and said, "Oh mistresse Irish you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appeare you will not be at my mariage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friende, as I thought you had bene. But quiet your selfe, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharpe and painefull, yet I am sure, my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I minde (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleepe as quietlie to night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheere, and to take his crosse quietlie, for the reward was great, &c.

The

The Behaviour of D. Ridley and M. Latimer, at the Time of their Death, which was the 16. *of October.* 1555.

Upon the north side of the towne, in the ditch over against Baily College, the place of execution was appointed; and for feare of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded by the queenes letters, and the housholders of the city to be there assistant, sufficientlie appointed, and when every thing was in readinesse, the Prisoners were brought forth by the maior and the bayliffes.

Master Ridley had a faire blacke gowne furred, and faced with foines, such as he was wont to weare beeing bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a paire of slippers to the stake, and going between the maior and an alderman.

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristow freeze frock all worne, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchiefe on his head, all readie to the fire, a newe long shrowde hanging over his hose downe to the feet: which at the first sight, stirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had; on the other, the calamitie whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctour Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where M. Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seene him at the glasse windowe [9], and to

At the glasse windowe.] We are here reminded of the last parting scene between two other illustrious friends and fellow-sufferers, at a subsequent period of our history. "The Lord Strafford

to have spoken unto him. But then master Cranmer was busie with frier Soto and his fellowes disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion.

Strafford the night before the execution, sent for the lieutenant of the tower, and asked him, whether it were possible he might speak with the archbishop (Laud). The lieutenant told him, he might not do it without order from the parliament. Wherefore the earl replied, "You shall hear what passeth between us: for it is not a time now, either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason." The lieutenant answered, that he was limited; and therefore desired, that his lordship would petition the parliament for that favour. "No," said he, "I have gotten my dispatch from them; and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning an higher court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor error feared. But my lord," said he, turning to the primate of Ireland, whose company he had procured of the Houses in that fatal exigent, "I will tell you what I should have spoken to my lord's grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers this night; and to give me his blessing when I do go abroad to-morrow; and *to be in his window*, that by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former favours." The primate having delivered the message without delay, the archbishop replied, that in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the archbishop's lodging, and said to the lieutenant, "though I do not see the archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his rooms." In the mean time the archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the window. Then the earl bowing himself to the ground, "*My lord*," said he, "*your prayers, and your blessing*." The archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground *in animi deliquio*. The earl bowing the second time, said, "Farewell my lord; God protect your innocency." And because he feared that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, "That he hoped by God's assistance, and his own innocency, that when he came to his own execution, which he daily longed for, the world should perceive he had been more sensible of the Lord Strafford's loss, than of his

occasion. Then master Ridley looking backe, espied M. Latimer comming after. Unto whome he said, " Oh be ye there." " Yea," said master Latimer," have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a prettie way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other; where first doctor Ridley entring the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then shortlie after espying M. Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful looke, ran to him, imbraced and kissed him, and as they that stood neere reported, comforted him, saying, " Be of good heart brother, for God will either asswage the furie of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled downe by it, kissed it, most effectuouslie praied; and behind him M. Latimer kneeled, as earnestlie calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution remooved themselves out of the sun. What they said, I can learne of no man.

Then doctor Smith, of whose recantation in king Edwards time ye heard before, beganne his sermon to them, upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13. chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; *Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio,* That is, if I yeelde my bodie to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gaine nothing thereby. Wherein he alledged that the goodnesse of the cause, and not

his own. And good reason it should be so (said he), for the gentleman was more serviceable to the church (he would not mention the state), than either himself, or any of all the church-men had ever been. A gallant farewell to so eminent and beloved a friend!" Heylin's *Life of Laud.* p. 480.

the

the order of death, maketh the holines of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford, that of late hanged her selfe, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperatelie sundered their lives from their bodies, as hee feared that those men that stood before him would doe. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversities in opinions, as Lutherians, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were he said [1], and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholike faith beleeved far otherwise. At which place they lifted uppe both their hands and eies to heaven, as it were calling God to witnes of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, whereas they thought he spake amisse. Hee ended with a verie short exhortation to them to recant and come home againe to the church, and save their lives and soules, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant in all a quarter of an houre.

Doctor Ridley said to M. Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, doctor Ridley and master Latimer kneeled downe uppon their knees towardes my lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellour of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a forme thereby. Unto whom M. Ridley said, "I beseech you my lord even for Christs sake,

[1] *They were he said.*] But see vol. i. p. 294. Note 5.

that

that I may speake but two or three wordes." And whilest my lord bent his head to the maior and vice-chancellour, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speake, the bailiffes and doctor Marshall vice-chancellour, ran hastily to him, and with their handes stopped his mouth and said, "Maister Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shal not onely have liberty so to doe, but also the benefite of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said maister Ridley. "No," quoth doctor Marshall: "therefore if you will not so doe, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," (quoth M. Ridley) "so long as the breath is in my bodie, I will never denie my Lord Christ, and his knowne truth: Gods will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then I commit our cause to Almightie God, which shall indifferently judge all."

To whose saying, maister Latimer added his olde posie, "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened:" and hee saide he could answere Smith well enough if hee might be suffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make them readie, which they with all meekenesse obeyed. M. Ridley tooke his gowne and his tippet, and gave it to his brother in lawe Master Shepside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his owne charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time, hee sent him by the sergeant that kept him. Some other of his apparell that was little worth, hee gave away; other the bailiffes tooke.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifullie wept: as to sir Henry Lea, he gave a new groat,

groat, and to divers of my lord Williams gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegges, and races of ginger, his diall, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Som plucked the pointes of his hose. Happie was he [2] that might get any ragge of him.

M. Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other aray, which to looke unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shrowd, he seemed as comly a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see: and whereas in his clothes hee appeared a withered and crooked sillie olde man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father [3] as one might lightly behold.

Then

[2] *Happie was he.*] The zeal with which the little remembrancers of these sufferers were sought after, is insulted and scorfed at by the vulgar and atrocious persecutor Miles Hoggard, in a passage of his *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 54—56; but it is too disgusting and savage to disengage from its present obscurity. Compare Fox's *Acts*. p. 1818.

[3] *As comely a father.*] With this description of Latimer, the reader may not be displeased to have an opportunity of comparing the following account of an humble Welsh fisherman. "It is recorded furthermore of the saide goode father Rawlines by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, hee seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For whereas before he was wont to go stouping, or rather crooked through the infirmitie of age, having a sad countenaunce, and a very feeble complexion, and withal very softe in speech and gesture; now he went and stretched up himself not onlie bolt upright, but also bare withal a most comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacitie both in speech and behaviour. Hee had (of which thing I should have spoken before) about his head a handkerchiefe. The hairs of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe), and also of his beard, were more inclined to white than to grey; which gave such a shewe and countenaunce to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical. It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his bodie (as we have heard,

Then M. Ridley standing as yet in his trusse, sayde to his brother, "it were best for me to go in my trusse still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more paine: and the trusse will do a poore man good." Wherunto M. Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God," and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, hee stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hands and sayde, "Oh Heavenly Father, I give unto thee most heartie thanks, for that thou haste called mee to bee a professour of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee Lord God, take mercie upon this realme of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith tooke a chaine of iron, and brought the same about both doctor Ridleyes, and maister Latimers middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, doctor Ridley tooke the chaine in his hand and shaked the same, for it did girde in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said; "Good fellow knocke it in hard; for the flesh will have its course." Then his brother did bringe him gunne powder in a bagge, and would have tied the same about his necke. Maister Ridley asked what it was. His brother sayde gunnepowder. "Then," sayd he, "I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," sayd he, "for my brother," meaning master Lati-

heard), many of his friends came to him, and tooke him by the hande; among whom the reporter of this storie holde him so long by the hande, till the flame of the fire rose, and forced them assunder. In the mean time, the priest of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was an heretike, and condemned by the church. The chiefe cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. Hee was at that time of his death, of the age of three score years or thereabouts." Fox's *Acts*. p. 1410.

mer:

mer: "Yea sir, that I have" (quoth his brother): "then give it unto him," sayd he, "betime, least ye come too late." So his brother went, and caried of the same gunnepowder unto maister Latimer.

In the meane time doctor Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suter unto your lordshippe in the behalfe of divers poore men, and speciallie in the cause of my poore sister: I have made a supplication to the queenes majestie in their behalfes. I beseech your lordship for Christs sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordshippe to certifie you herof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience (I praise God) this only excepted. Whiles I was in the sea of London, divers poore men tooke leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I heare say the bishop that now occupieth the same roome, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrarie unto all lawe and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to injoy the same. I beseech you my lord, be a meane for them: you shall doe a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggotte, kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at doctor Ridleys feete. To whome M. Latimer spake in this manner, "Bee of good comfort master Ridley, and play the man: wee shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as I trust shall never bee putte out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when doctor Ridley saw the fire, flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful lowd voice, *In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine*

recipe spiritum meum, and after repeated this latter part often in English, *Lord, Lord, receive my spirit*: M. Latimer crying as vehementlie on the other side, *Oh Father of heaven, receive my soule*: who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his handes, and as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, hee soone died, (as it appeared) with verie little paine or none. And thus much concerning the end of this olde and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travailes, fruitfull life, and constant death, the whole realme hath cause to give great thanks to Almightie God.

But master Ridley by reason of the evill making of the fire unto him, because the wodden fagots were laide about the gosse, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept downe by the wood. Which when he felt, he desired them for Christes sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother in law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his paine (for the which cause hee gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, not well advised what hee did, heaped fagots upon him so that he cleane covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned cleane all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leape up and downe under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burne." Which indeed appeared well: for after his legges were consumed by reason of his struggling through the paine (whereof hee had no release, but onelie his contentation in God) he shewed that side towards us cleane, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment hee forgate not to call unto God still, having in his mouth. "Lord have mercie upon mee,"

inter-

intermingling this cry, "let the fire come unto me, I cannot burne." In which paines he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill, pulled off the fagots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himselfe unto that side. And when the flame touched the gun-powder, he was seene stirre no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at master Latimers feete. Which some said hapned, by reason that the chain loosed, other said that he fel over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weaknes of the neather lims. Some said that before he was like to fall from the stake, hee desired them to hold him to it with their bills. Howsoever it was, surelie it mooved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. For I thinke there was none, that had not cleane exiled all humanitie and mercie, which would not have lamented to beholde the furie of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signes there were of sorrow on everie side[4]." Some tooke it grievouslie to see their deathes, whose lives they held ful deare. Some pitied their persons, that thought

[4] *On everie side.*] The following account is given in a letter from Cardinal Pole to King Philip. "A reverendo patre Soto accepi literas Oxonio datas, quibus me certiorem facit, quid cum duobus illis hæreticis egerit, qui jam erant damnati, quorum alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluerit (this seems to suit best with the character of Latimer); cum altero est locutus, sed nihil profecit; ut facile intelligatur, a nemine servari posse, quos Deus projecerit. Itaque de illis supplicium est sumtum, *non illiberaliter, ut ferunt, spectante populo*, cum cognitum fuisset, nihil esse prætermissum, quod ad eorum salutem pertineret. Qui olim Cantuariensi ecclesiæ præfuit, cujus damnationis sententia Româ nunc expectatur, is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, aitque se cupere mecum loqui. Si ad pœnitentiam revocari possit, non parvum lucrum ex unius animæ salute ecclesia fecerit: quid autem sperari possit, ex proximis literis Patris Soti expectamus, et Majestatem vestram certiorem faciemus." Poli *Epist.* vol. v. p. 84 and 47. (Octob. 26, 1555).

their soules had no need thereof. His brother mooved many men, seeing his miserable case: seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicitie, that he thought then to doe him best service, when he hastned his end. Some cried out of the lucke, to see his endevor, whoe most dearlie loved him, and sought his release, turne to his greater vexation, and increase of paine. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they sometime occupied in this common wealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not chuse but sorrow with teares, to see so great dignitie, honour, and estimation, so necesary members sometime accounted, so many godly vertues, the study of so manie yeres, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Wel, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have alreadie. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lords glorie, when hee commeth with his saints, shall shortly I trust declare.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

'The cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion is not any study of vayne glory or of singularitie, but of conscience, of my bounden duty towardes God, and towardes Christes church, and the salvation of myne owne soule; for the which, by Goddes grace, I will willingly jeopard here to lose life, lands and goods, name and fame, and what else is or can be unto me pleasant in this world.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

AMONG manie other worthy histories and notable acts of such as of late daies have been turmoiled, murthered and martyred for the true gospel of Christ, in Queene Maries raigne, the tragicall story and life of Doctour Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory: beseeching thee gentle reader, with care and studie well to peruse, diligentlie to consider, and deepelie to print the same in thy brest, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostlie inspired and godlie learned, and now written doubtlesse in the booke of life, with the blessed Saints of the Almightie, crowned and throned amongst the glorious companie of martyrs.

First descending of a stocke[1] right worshipfull,

[1] *Descending of a stocke.*] "He was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century," says Dr. Glocester Ridley, in his accurate and well-written life of this great prelate, p. 2, from which it is to be inferred, that the exact year of his birth is not ascertained. Dr. Turner, who knew him well, in a letter to Fox, the martyrologist, among other particulars, communicates the following. "He was born in my native county of Northumberland, and sprung of the gentile pedigree of the Ridleys. One of his uncles was a knight, and another was doctor of divinity, who, by the name of Robert Ridley was famous, not only at Cambridge, but at Paris, where he long studied; and throughout Europe, by the writings of Polydore Virgil. At the charges of this doctor was our Nicholas long maintained at Cambridge, afterwards at Paris, and lastly at Louvain. After his return from the schools beyond the seas, he lived with us for many years in Pembroke Hall: but at length was called away from us to the bishop of Canterbury, whom he served faithfully: and lastly, was raised to the dignity of a bishop. The town where he was born was called Willowmontiswich, now Willowmont." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 229.

he

he was borne in Northumberlandshire; who being a childe, learned his grammar with great dexteritie in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge[1], where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptnes, he was called to hyer functions, and offices of the universitie, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to bee head of Pembrooke hall, and there made doctour of divinitie. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who at his returne, was made chaplaine to King Henrie the eight, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopricke of Rochester: and so from thence translated to the see and bishopricke of London in King Edwards daies.

In which calling and offices he so travelled and occupyed himselfe by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good childe was more singularlie loved of his deare parents, then he of his flocke and dioces. Every holieday and Sundaie he lightlie preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weightie affaires and busines; to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitfull doctrine, which hee did not onelie preach, but shewed the same by his life,

[1] *University of Cambridge.*] Dr. Richardson, in the notes to his edition of bishop Godwin's book *De Præsulibus*, p. 192, gives us the following dates, in the life of Ridley. "Fellow A. D. 1524; A. M. 1526; B. D. 1534; D. D. 1540. Also in 1533 Proctor of the University, and in 1547 Rector of Soham." He was elected Master of Pembroke Hall in 1540. Le Neve's *Fasti*. p. 424. Consecrated bishop of Rochester, Sept. 5, 1547. Le Neve, p. 251; and translated to London April 1, 1550. Ibid. p. 180. There is little doubt but that his studying at Paris must have been anterior, and not subsequent to his taking the degree of D. D. See Ridley's Life, p. 94.

as

as a glittering lanterne, to the eies and senses of the blinde, in such pure order and chastitie of life (declining from evill desires and concupiscences) that even his verie enemies could not reproove him in any one jote thereof.

Besides this, he was passinglie well learned, his memorie[3] was great, and he of such reading withall, that of right hee deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age; as can testifie as well divers his notable workes, pithie sermons, and sundrie his disputations in both the universities, as also his verie adversaries, all which will say no lesse themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsell, deepe of wit, and verie politike in all his dooings. How

[3] *His memorie.*] But we shall see below, that he himself speaks with great diffidence of his powers of memory. The following circumstances, communicated by Dr. William Turner to Fox, must not be omitted. "Concerning his memory, and his manifold knowledge of tongues and arts, although I am able to be an ample witness (for he further instructed me in a knowledge of the Greek tongue), yet without my testimony, almost all Cantabridgians to whom he was sufficiently knowen, can and will testify. How able he was in confuting or overthrowing any thing, yet without any boasting or noise of arms, not only I, but all with whom he disputed, easily perceived: unless he understood that they thirsted more after glory than was fit; for this he used to set himself more vigorously to crush. His behaviour was very obliging and very pious, without hypocrisy or monkish austerity; for very often he would shoot at the bow, and play at tennice with me. If there were no other witness of his beneficence to the poor, I will testify this to all, that before he was advanced to any ecclesiastical preferment, he carried me along in company with him to the next hospital, and when I had nothing to give to the poor, besides what he himself, according to his estate gave liberally, he often supplied me, that I might give too. Whilst he was himself in prison, what aid he sent out of England to us in our exile in Germany, that learned man his faithful Achates, Dr. Edmund Grindal, now bishop of London, can testify; and many others who were assisted by his liberality." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 229.

merciful

mercifull and carefull he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentlenes to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of doctour Heath, late archbishop of Yorke, being prisoner with him in King Edwards time in his house one yeare, sufficientlie declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godlie, and ghostlie a man, that England may justlie rue the losse of so worthie a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these publike matters.

Now will I speake something further particularlie of his person and conditions. Hee was a man right comelie and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the bodie. He tooke all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancor from his heart, but straightwaies forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kinde and naturall to his kinsfolke, and yet not bearing with them anie thing otherwise then right would require; giving them alwais for a generall rule, yea, to his owne brother and sister, that they doing evill, should seeke or looke for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him, and they to bee his brother or sister, which used honestie, and a godlie trade of life.

Hee using all kindes of waies to mortifie himselfe, was given to much praier and contemplation. For duelie everie morning, so soone as his apparell was done uppon him, he went forthwith to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees praied the space of halfe an houre; which being done, immediatelie he went to his studie (if there came no other busines to interrupt him), where he continued til ten of the clocke, and then came to common praier, dailie used in his house. The praiers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little

talk, except otherwise occasion by some had beene ministred, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometime merie, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not verie long, he used to sit an houre or thereabouts talking or playing at the chesse: That done, he returned to his studie, and there would continue, except suters or busines abroad were occasion of the contrary, untill five of the clocke at night, and then would come to common praier, as in the forenoone: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himselfe there as at his dinner before. After supper, recreating himselfe in playing at chesse the space of an houre, he would then returne againe to his studie: continuing there till eleven of the clocke at night, which was his common houre to go to bed, then saying his praiers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his familie at the common praier, beginning at the Actes of the Apostles, and so going throughout all the Epistles of S. Paule, giving to every man that could reade a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learne by heart certain principall chapters, but especially the thirteenth chapter of the Actes, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalme, being marvellous carefull over his familie, that they might be a spectacle of all vertue and honestie to other. To be short, as he was godlie and vertuous himselfe, so nothing but vertue and godlines raigned in his house, feeding them with the foode of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pitie in the usage of an olde woman called mistres Boner mother to doctour Boner, sometime bishop of London: which thought

I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemencie of doctour Ridley, as the unworthie inmanity and ingratefull disposition againe of doctor Boner. Bishop Ridley being at his manor of Fulham, alwaies sent for the saide mistres Boner, dwelling in an house adjoyning to his house, to dinner and supper, with one mistres Mungey, Boners sister, saying, Go for my mother Boner; who comming, was ever placed in the chaire at the tables end, being so gentlie intreated, welcommed, and taken, as though hee had beene borne of her owne bodie; being never displaced of her seate, although the kings councel had beene present, he saying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) By your lordships favor, this place of right and custome is for my mother Boner. But how well he was recompenced for this his singular gentlenes, and pitifull pitie after, at the hands of the said doctour Boner, almost the least childe that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward, was more enemie to Ridley, then Boner and his? Who more went about to seeke his destruction then he? recompensing his gentlenes with extreame crueltie. As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridleys owne naturall sister, and George Shipside her husband[4], from time to time:

[4] *Shipside her husband.*] Bishop Burnet, in his Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. book 2, No. 74 Records, has published a letter of Bonner, which I am tempted to transcribe, as it will serve to shew how low-minded a man this was, who had so powerful and fatal an influence at this period.

"To my loving and dearly beloved friends, my cousin Thomas Shirley, the worshipful Richard Leechmore, &c. In most hearty wise I commend me unto you, ascertaining, that yesterday I was, by sentence, restored again to my bishoprick, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the said sentence, my usurper Dr.

time: whereas the gentlenes of the other did suffer Boners mother, sister, and other his kindred, not onelie quietlie to enjoy all that which they had of Boner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesie and friendship, dailie unto them: whereas on the other side, B. Boner being restored againe, would not suffer the brother and naturall sister of B. Ridley, and other his friendes, not onelie not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother bishop Ridley, but also currishlie without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrasted from them all the livings they had.

And yet being not therewith satisfied, hee sought all the meanes he could, to worke the death of the foresaide Shipside, saying that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him: which had beene brought to passe indeed, at what time hee was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by meanes of doctour Heath bishop then of Worcester.

Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed; so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmerley and Bushley at your pleasures, not suffering *Sheepshead* or *Shipside*, to be any meeder there, or to sell or to carry away any thing from thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheepsheads, and the other Calves-heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him. He is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things: but that will not serve; in the same predicament is Dr. Smith, my friend, and the dean of Pauls, with others. Commend me to your bed-fellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote to you for. This bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep you all. Written in haste this *6th of September*.

Assuredly all your own,

EDMUND LONDON."

Where-

Whereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversitie was in the disposition of these two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercie and pitie, so the other againe as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despitefull disdaine. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning Gods vocation, how doctor Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospell; partlie by his disputation before, and other his treatises it may appeare, that the first occasion of his conversion, was by reading of Bertrams booke of the sacrament, whom also the conference with bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirme in that behalfe. Who now by the grace of God, being throughly woon and brought to the true way, as he was before blinde and zealous in his olde ignorance, so was he as constant and faithfull in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of king Edward) and so long did much good, while authoritie of externe power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of the gospell. But after that it pleased so the heavenlie will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of our stay, and to call from us king Edward that precious prince; as the whole state of the church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies hand, so this bishop Ridley, after the comming in of queene Mary, eftsoone and with the first[5] was laid hands upon and committed to prison,

[5] *With the first.*] July 23, 1553, a letter was dispatched by the council to Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir John Gage, directing them to confine Ridley close prisoner in the tower. Haynes's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 160. It is not difficult to shew

prison, first in the tower, then after translated from thence with the archbishop of Canturburie, and maister Latimer, to Oxford, he was with them inclosed in the common gayle and prison of Bocardo; while at length being dissevered from them, hee was committed to custodie in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdome, which was from the yere of our Lord 1554, till the yeare 1555, and 16.

shew why he was particularly obnoxious. As the learned Mr. Baker says, "There needed no colours: he had given too just offence. In a M.S. Corp. Chris. coll. cant. Miscell. P. this account is given,

Sunday, July 16. Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, preached at Paul's cross: where he declared in his sermon, the lady Mary and Elizabeth to be illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, &c. according to God's law; and so found both by the clergy, and acts of parliament in Henry the VIIIth time; *which the people murmured at.*" Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 409. Appendix.

Fox has given a fuller relation of the same sermon. "Doctor Ridley in time of Q. Jane had made a sermon at Pauls crosse, so commanded by the council, declaring there his mind to the people, as touching the lady Mary, and dissuading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconveniencies which might arise by receiving her to bee their queene, prophesying as it were before, that which after came to passe; that shee would bring in foreign power to reign over them: besides the subverting also of Christian religion then alreadie established; shewinge moreover that the same Mary being in his diocesse, he according to his duty, being then her ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion; and notwithstanding in all other points of civilitie, she shewed herselfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she shewed herselfe so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that which with so great labours had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this sermon, queene Mary was proclammed; whereupon hee speedily repairing to Fremingham to salute the queene, had suche cold welcome there, that being dispoiled of all his dignities, he was sent backe uppon a lame halting horse to the tower." Fox's *Acts.* p. 1280.

day

day of October. Furthermore, as touching his disputations had at Oxford, inough hath beene said already (in the life of Hugh Latimer). We now come to relate his travels in persuading and instructing the lady Mary, before she was queene; his reasons and conference likewise had in the tower at the lieutenants board; and certain other conferences he had in prison with master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

About the eight of September, 1552, doctor Ridley then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hartfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then lying at Hunsden two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock. About which time the said lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and said, that hee was come to doe his duetie to her grace. Then she thanked him for his paines, and for a quarter of an houre talked with him very pleasantly: and said, that she knew him in the court when hee was chaplaine to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Browne, &c. and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said lady Mary, resorted againe to her grace, betweene whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in maner as followeth.

Bishop. Madame, I came not onely to do my duty to see your grace, but also to offer my self to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to heare mee. At this her countenance changed, and after silence for a space, she answered this.

Mary.

Mary. My lord, as for this last matter, I pray you make the answere to it your selfe.

Bishop. Madame, considering mine office and calling, I am bound of duetie to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the answere (as I have said) to this matter your selfe: for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answere, this shalbe your answere; The doore of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list, but neither I, nor none of mine shall heare you.

Bishop. Madame, I trust you will not refuse Gods word.

Mary. I cannot tell what yee call Gods worde. That is not Gods word now, that was Gods word in my fathers daies.

Bishop. Gods word is all one in all times, but hath been better understanded and practised in some ages, then in other.

Mary. You durst not for your eares have advouched that for Gods worde in my fathers daies, that now you doe. And as for your new bookes, I thanke God I never read none of them: never did, nor never will doe.

And after many bitter words against the forme of religion then established, and against the government of the realme, and the lawes made in the young yeares of her brother, which shee said shee was not bound to obey, till her brother[6] came to perfect

[6] *Till her brother.*] This idle pretence, suggested perhaps by the sophistry of Gardiner or Bonner (see Fox, p. 1201), was a very prevalent one, and occasioned great uneasiness to the friends of the young king. Hence it was, that Latimer was under the necessity of shewing in his sermons, that

perfect age, and then affirmed she would obey them; she asked the bishop whether hee were one of the councell: he answered, No. You might well enough, said shee, as the councell goeth now adaies.

And

"kinges though they be children, yet are they kinges notwithstanding." "For, says he, there be some wicked people, that will say: *Tush, thys geare will not tarry. It is but my lord Protectours, and my lord of Canterburies doing: the king is a childe, and he knoweth not of it.* What people are they that saye, the kinge is but a childe? Have not we a noble king? Was there ever king so noble, so godly brought up with so noble counsellors, so excellent and well-learned schoole-maysters? I wyll tell you this, and speake it even as I thinke. His majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge, at thys age, than twenty of hys progenitours, that I could name, had at any time of theyr life." Latimer's *Sermons*. fol. 36. edit. 1584. And in like manner the council instructed the lady Mary's chaplain to say to his mistress, in reply to a declaration that she would defer her obedience to a newly enacted law, till his majesty were of sufficient years, "That she could in no one saying more disallowe the authoritie of the king, the majestie of his crowne, and the state of the realme. For herein she suspendeth his kingdome, and esteemeth his authoritie by his age, not by his right and title. Her Grace must understand hee is a king by the ordinance of God, by descent of royall bloud, not by the numbring of his yeeres. As a creature subject to mortalitie, hee hath youth, and, by Gods grace, shall have age: but as a king he hath no difference by daies and yeares. The scripture plainely declareth it not only young children to have bin kings by Gods special ordinance, but also, &c. Fox's *Acts*. p. 1212. Comp. Strype's *Eccles. Memor*. vol. iii. p. 23, 24, 160. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 191. Hence it was, as we may conjecture, that the loyalists devised a means of shewing their attachment to their youthful prince, which we collect from an incidental mention of it by a zealous popish writer in the succeeding reign. "Doth not a lively image, I beseche you, make folkes remember the man, that is represented by it, better than a bare naked white wall? or when a man cometh into a house, and findeth the image of kinge Edwarde, whether doth he there more remember hym, or when he goeth into another house, and findeth no image of hym at all? It was wonte to be sayd,

that

And so she concluded with these words; My lord, for your gentlenes to come and see me, I thanke you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thanke you never a whit.

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and desired to drinke. And after he had dranke, hee paused a little while, looking very sadly, and sodainly brake out into these wordes, Surely I have done amisse. Why so, quoth Sir Thomas Wharton? For I have dronke (said he) in that place where Gods worde offered, hath beene refused: Whereas if I had remembred my duetie, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shooes for a testimonie against this house. These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house.

It was declared a little before[7], how doctor Ridley was had from Fremingham to the tower; where being in durance, and invited to the lieutenants table, hee had certaine talke or conference with secretary Bourne, M. Feckenam, and other, concerning the controversies in religion: the summe whereof, as it was penned with his owne hand, hereafter insueth.

that such as were the kinges very frendes wold have the kinges image in their houses, bothe to make them remember their dueties toward hym, and also to declare their good wil, that they bare him." Christopherson *against Rebellion*, signat. U 3.

[7] *A little before.*] See note 5.

Here followeth the Summe and Effect of the Communication between D. Ridley, and Secretary Bourn, with others, at the Lieutenants Table in the Tower.

Maister Thomas of Bridges sayde at his brother maister lieutenants boorde, I pray you M. Doctours, for my learning tell mee what an hereticke is. M. Secretarie Bourne said, I will tell you who is an hereticke: whoso stubbornly and stiffely maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretike. Ye meane syr, sayd I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yea that is true said he: and in this wee are soone agreed. Then said maister Fecknam, sitting at the upper end of the table, whome they called M. Deane of Paules, I will tell you by S. Augustine who is an heretick: Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est, saith S. Augustine. And then he englished the same. Sir said I, I ween S. Augustine addeth the third member, which is, vel vanæ gloriæ causa. Ye say even true M. Doctor, sayd he; and thus farre we did agree all three.

M. Fecknam began againe to say, whoso doth not beleeve that the scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintaine the contrary, he is hæreticus. As in the sacrament of the aultar, Mathew doth affirme there to be Christs bodie, Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to holde the contrary it is heresie. It is the same bodie and flesh that was borne of the virgine: and this is confirmed by unitie, antiquitie, and universalitie. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he

was

was an hereticke, as M. Doctor there knoweth full well: I do testifie his owne conscience said he.

Mary sir, said maister Secretary, master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, unitie, antiquitie, and universalitie. Doe ye not thinke so maister Doctor sayd hee to mee?

Heere while I strained curtesie and pretended as nothing to talke. saide one of the commissioners, peradventure maister Ridley doth agree with M. Fecknam. and then there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, saide I, in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plaine, I do not agree with him at all.—Maisters, said I, ye be (as I understand) the queenes commissioners here, and if yee have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainely my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you eyther give mee leave to speake my minde freelie, or else to holde my peace.

There is none here, said M. Secretary, that doth not favor you: and then everie man shewed what favor they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have licence of them in plaine words to speake my minde, so me thought they granted mee it, but vix or ægrè. Well at the last I was content to take it for licenced, and so began to talke.

To M. Fecknams arguments of the manifold affirmation where no deniall was, I answered, where is a multitude of affirmations in scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that anie one of the evangelists spake inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as

true

true that John sayth of Christ, I am the dore of the sheepe, as if all had said it. For it is not in scripture as in witnes of men, where the number is credited more then one, because it is uncertaine of whose spirit hee dooth speake. And where M. Fecknam spake of so manie, affirming without anie negation, &c. Sir saide I, all they doe affirme the thing which they meant. Now if yee take their words, to leave their meaning, then doe they affirme what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, said I, if in talke with you, I should so utter my minde in words, that ye by the same do, and may plainely perceive my meaning, and could, if ye would be captious, cavill at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companion to talke with; except yee would take my words as ye did perceive that I did meane.

Mary, quoth M. Secretary, we should else doe you plain injury and wrong.

M. Fecknam perceiving whereunto my talke went, why, quoth hee, what circumstances can yee shewe me that should move to thinke of anie other sense, then as the words plainely say; Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur? This is my bodie which shall be betraied for you.

Sir said I, even the next sentence that followeth; Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason, yee say the bread is turned into Christs carnall bodie; by the same I may say, that it is turned into his mysticall bodie. For as that saith of it, Hoc est corpus quod pro vobis tradetur; so Paule which spake by Christs spirit saith, We being many are all but one bread, and one bodie, in as much as we are partakers of one bread.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, sayd M. Secretarie.

You

Yea sayd I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what say ye, quoth master secretary, of the universalitie, antiquitie, and unitie, that master Feckuam did speak of?

I ensure you, said I, I think them matters weightie, and to be considered well. As for unitie, the truth is, before God, I do beleeve it and embrace it, so it be with veritie, and joyned to our head Christ, and such one as Paul speaketh of, saying, One faith, one God, one baptisme. And for antiquity I am also perswaded to bee true that Irænæus saith, Quod primum verum, That is first is true. In our religion Christs faith was first truely taught by Christ himselfe, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeede next unto them: and for this controversie of the sacrament, I am perswaded, that those old writers which wrot before the controversie and the usurping of the sea of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understanded in this truth.

I am glad to heare, said master secretarie, that ye doe so well esteeme the doctors of the church.

Now as for universality, it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal which from the beginning in all ages hath beene allowed; another, to understand universalitie for the multitude of our age or of any other singular age.

No, no, saith master secretary, these three do alwaies agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest; and heere hee and I changed many words. And finally, to bee short in this matter we did not agree.

There was none quoth maister Feckuam, before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our dayes Carolostadius, Oecolampadius. And Carolostadius sayth, Christ pointed to his owne body and

and not to the sacrament, and said, Hoc est corpus meum. And Melancthon writeth to one Micronius (Miconius said I) these or like words; Nullam satis gravem rationem invenire possum, propter quam à fide majorum in hac materia dissentiam. I can find no grounded reason to cause me to dissent from the beliefe of our foreelders.

Thus when he had spoken at length with manie other words mo: Sir said I, it is certaine that other before these have written of this matter; not by the waie onely, and obiter, as doth for the most all the old writers, but even ex professo, and their whole bookes intreat of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertram said the secretary, what man was he? and who was he, and how do ye know? &c. with many questions.

Sir quoth I, I have read his booke. He proponeth the same which is now in controversie, and answereth so directly that no man may doubt but that hee affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus.

Mary, quoth hee, marke, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, ad Henricum[8], and not ad

[8] *Ad Henricum.*] That is, to *Henry the eighth:* meaning to *insinuate,* that this book of Bertram's, which bore too strongly against the Romish corruptions in the doctrine of the Eucharist, to admit easily of any *fair* and *direct* answer, was a modern forgery of the protestants. Steven Gardiner, with less confidence, in his book against Cranmer, endeavours to cast a like suspicion upon the credit of that writer; "one Bertram" (says he): "if the booke set forth in hys name be his." See Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, p. 6. edit. 1580. It is but right, however, to remark, that other Roman catholics have not betraid the weakness of their arguments by this impolitic hardihood; but have spoken of Bertram's book in terms much more creditable to their own character, and their cause. Mabillonius, for instance, expressly states his having discovered a manuscript of it eight hundred years old. Cave's *Histor. Literar.* vol. ii. p. 28.

Carolum,

Carolum, for no authour maketh any such mention of Bertramus.

Yes, quoth I, Trithemius in catalogo illustrium scriptorum, speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time: but he speaketh, quoth I, of them that were of antiquitie. Here, after much talke of Bertram, what authors have ye, quoth M. Secretarie to make of the sacrament a figure?

Sir, quoth I, ye know (I thinke) that Tertullian in plaine words speaketh thus, Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei, this is my bodie, that is to say, a figure of my body. And Gelasius sayth plainely, that substantia panis manet, the substance of bread remaineth. And Origine sayth likewise, Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam, ingreditur stomachum & vadit in secessum, that which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught. This when I had englished, M. Secretary sayd to mee, you know very well as any man, &c. and here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and quòd essem vir multæ lectionis, a man of much reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought my selfe as low againe: and here was much adoe.

As for Melancthon (quoth I) whom M. Fecknam spake of, I marvell that yee will alledge him, for we are more nie an agreement heere in England, then the opinion of Melancthon to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one materiall substance: and Melancthon as I weene, sayth there are two.

Ye say truth, quoth M. Secretary: Melancthons opinion is so. But I pray you, ye have heard that the sacrament was in olde time so reverenced, that many were then forbidden to bee present at the ministra-

ministration thereof, Catechumeni, quoth hee, and many moe.

Truth sir, quoth I, there were some called audientes, some pœnitentes, some catechumeni, and some energumeni, which were commanded to depart.

Now, quoth he, then. And how can ye then make but a figure or a signe of the sacrament, as that book doth which is set forth in my lord of Canturburies[9] name; I wisse, ye can tell who made it, did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glorie of the writing of that booke, which yet there was sayde of some there, to containe most hainous heresie that ever was.

Maister secretary, quoth I, that booke was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to

9 *Lord of Canturburies name.*] Fox, in the margin, calls this "the booke of Catechisme;" by which must be meant, either the catechism, commonly called the Catechism of King Edward, or the *Short Instruction into Christian Religion.* But the book in question could be neither of these. The former was never published in Cranmer's name; and, as to the latter, there could be no dispute, *who* its author was: for it was avowedly a *translation*, from the Latin of Justus Jonas. But, the contents too, if any one were disposed to examine the two books for that purpose, would establish the same conclusion. And a similar investigation would shew, that the book intended by secretary Bourn was, either "a defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament, A. D. 1550," or else (which also contains the preceding), his "answer unto a crafty and sophisticall cavillation, &c, A. D. 1551, and 1580." In the process against Cranmer, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth (M. S. N°. 1136) of which more will be said under the life of that prelate, Robert Ward, Master of Arts, deposes, that he did not think Cranmer had learning sufficient to write the books on the Eucharist, &c. which were put in evidence against him. "Ad septimum dicit, quod credit præfatum Thomam vix adeo eruditum, ut possit ipse, ejus proprio ingenio, hujus modi libros componere; certo tamen scit ejus nomine et auctoritate eos circumferri."

do the like againe: as for me I ensure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write anie such like thing. He passeth mee no lesse, then the learned master his young scholler.

Now, here every man would have his saying, which I passe over, not much materiall for to tell. But sir, quoth I, me thinks it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand that anie man doth so lightly esteeme the sacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that (but) maketh it a bare figure without anie more profit, which that booke doth often denie[1], as appeareth to the reader most plainly.

Yes quoth he, that they do.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth: and as for me, I ensure you I make no lesse of the sacrament then thus: I say whosoever receiveth the sacrament, hee receiveth therewith either life or death.

No quoth M. Secretary, scripture saith not so.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth, in the same sense; and S. Augustine saith, in the sound of words also: for Paul sayth, The bread which wee breake, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the bodie of Christ? and S. Augustine, Manduca vitam, bibe vitam, eate life, drinke life.

Then said maister Pope, what can ye make of it when yee say, there is not the reall bodie of Christ? which I do beleeve, and I pray God I may never beleeve other. How can it bring (as yee say) either life or death, when Christs bodie is not there?

Syr, quoth I, when you heare Gods word truely preached, if ye doe beleeve it and abide in it, yee shall and do receive life withall: and if yee doe

[1] *Doth often denie.*] See p. 4, 10, 34, &c. &c. &c.

not

not beleeve it, it dooth bring unto you death: and yet Christs bodie is still in heaven, and not carnall in every preachers mouth.

I pray you tell me quoth he, how can you answer to this, Quod pro vobis tradetur, which shall be given for you. Was the figure of Christs bodie given for us?

No sir, quoth I, but the verie bodie it selfe, whereof the sacrament is a sacramentall figure.

How say yee then, quoth he, to quod pro vobis tradetur, which shall be given for you?

Forsooth, quoth I, Tertullians exposition maketh it plaine, for he sayth, Corpus est, figura corporis, the bodie is a figure of the bodie. Now put to quod pro vobis tradetur, which shal be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion. For I ensure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thanke you master Pope, for your heart and minde; and ye know, quoth I, I were a verie foole if I would in this matter dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not inforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trowe) it is somewhat out of my waie, if I would esteeme worldly gaine.

What say ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro, the bread which the Lord did deliver, being changed, not according to the forme, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made flesh.

True syr, so he doth say, and I answere even the same which once by chance I preached at Paules crosse in a sermon, for the which I have beene as unjustly and as untruelie reported as any poore

poore man hath beene. For there, I speaking of the sacrament, and inveying against them that esteemed it no better then a peece of bread, tolde even the same thing of pœnitentes, audientes, catechumeni, energumeni, that I spake of before; and I bade them depart as unworthie to heare the mysterie; and then I said to those that be sancti, Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, Bread is the bodie, meate, drinke, flesh, because that unto this materiall substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then tooke I to utter as the time would then suffer, that the materiall substance of bread doth remaine. M. Fecknam (which as is reported to me) did belie me openly in the same matter at Paules crosse, heard all this my talke (as red as skarlet in his face) and herein answered mee never one word[2].

You do know well, quoth M. Secretary, that Origen and Tertullian were not catholicke, but erred.

Syr, quoth I, there is none of all the doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either layde to Origens charge or to Tertullian, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament.

What, quoth M. Chomley, late chief justice, doth not Christ say plainely, that it is his very flesh, and his very bloud, and we must needs eate him, or wee can have no life? Syr, quoth I, if you will heare how S. Augustine expounndeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong boxe.

[2] *Never one word.*] And yet Fecknam, after Ridley's death, repeated the same calumny again in a set oration, spoken in the House of Lords, in the year 1559. See Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 76.

And

And when I began to tell S. Augustines minde in his booke, de Doctrina Christiana, yea, yea, quoth M. Secretary, that is true. S. Augustine doth take it figuratively in deed.

Forty yeares agoe, quoth M. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty yeares agoe, quoth I, all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universall church.

What then? was maister Fecknam beginning to say, &c. but M. Secretary tooke the tale, and sayd, that was but a positive lawe.

A positive law? quoth I, no syr, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that hee challenged it by Christs owne word. For his decree saith, the church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodicall constitutions, nor yet any councels, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord sayd to Peter: thou art Peter, &c. And in an other place he intreateth, Tu es Cephas, id est, caput, thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.

Tush, it was not counted an article (quoth M. Secretary) of our faith.

Yes, said I, if ye call that an article of our faith, which is to be beleeved under paine of damnation. For he sayth, wee do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome, upon necessity of salvation.

And here when we spake of lawes and decrees, M. Roger Chomley thought himselfe much wronged, that hee could not be suffered to speake, the rest were so readie to interrupt him: and then he up and tolde a long tale what lawes were of kings of England made against the bishop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alwaie of the clergie

did

did flie to him. And here because he seemed to speake of manie things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his owne fellowes, and I let them talke.

Finally, we departed in peace, and master secretary promised in the end, that of their talke there should come to me no harme. And after I had made my mone for lacke of my books, he said they were all once given him: but sithi I know (said he) who hath them now, write me the names of such as yee would have, and I will speake for you the best I can.

A Conference[3] *had betwixt Maister Ridley, and Maister Latimer, in Prison, upon the Objections of Antonian, meaning by that Name some popish Persecutour (as Winchester), alluding thereby*

[3] *A conference.*] This conference is here inserted and recommended to the reader's attentive perusal, as affording a valuable and authentic summary of part of the grounds upon which the confessors in the reign of Mary were contented to be led to the stake: and secondly, because it contains the materials for a solid exposition of several of the articles of the church of England. "It passed in writing (says Dr. Gloc. Ridley) between these venerable fathers, as I apprehend, in January (1553—4), when they were in separate apartments, after the mass was publickly restored, which was December 21 (1553), and before Wyatt's rebellion had so crouded the tower with state prisoners, that the three prelates were confined in one apartment together: and this rebellion broke out the 26th of January." Ridley's *Life*, p. 485. That this date is probably very nearly correct, may be inferred also from a letter of Ridley to Grindal, given below, in which he says, "I was in the tower about the space of two moneths close prisoner, and after that, had granted to me without my labor the libertie of the tower, and so continued about halfe a yeare," &c.

to

to the Story of Victor. lib. 3. de Persecut. Aphricæ.

M. Ridley. In writing againe[4] ye have done me an unspeakeable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your wordes: but yet I am not so filled withall, but that I thyrst much more now then before to drinke more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I praie you good father let mee have one draught more to comforte my stomacke. For surelie except the Lord assist mee with his gracious aide, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white livered knight. But truelie my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should trie himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.

Syr, now I looke dailie when Diotrephes with his warriours shall assault me: wherefore I praie you good father, for that you are an old souldiour, and an expert warriour, and God knoweth I am but a yong souldiour, and as yet of small experience in these fits, help me I pray you to buckle my harnesse. And now I would have you to think

4 *In writing againe.*] Ridley here refers to a former conference, which he had, in writing, carried on with Latimer (and probably with Cranmer), in which he had stated "the causes that moved him to abstain from the mass." At the conclusion of his own portion of which, he says, "*Write againe* I beseech you, fathers and brethern, most dearly beloved in Christ." That conference is also well worthy of a careful perusal: but is here, with regret, omitted, through want of room. The "*causes*" which are there enlarged upon, are here briefly recapitulated in the answer to the *second* objection. "They be these; the strange tongue," &c. Both the conferences, together with Ridley's treatise against transubstantiation, were first printed in the year 1556, and again in 1574, in one small volume.

that

that these dartes are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes, or Antonius soldiers.

The Objection of the Antonian.

All men marvell greatlie, why you, after the libertie which you have granted unto you, more then the rest, doe not goe to masse, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea of the queene herselfe.

The Answere.

Because no man that laieth hand on the plough and looketh backe is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the selfe same cause why saint Paule would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospell might remaine with us uncorrupt. (Galat. the second:) And againe, if I build againe the things which I destroyed, I make my selfe a trespasser. This is also another cause; least I should seeme by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am perswaded is contrarie to sound doctrine, and so should bee a stumbling stocke unto the weake. But woe be unto him by whome offence commeth: it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his necke, and he cast into the middest of the sea.

M. Latimer. Except the Lord helpe me ye say. Truth it is. For without me, saith he, ye can doe nothing, much lesse suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloudie law[5] now prepared against us. But it followeth, if you abide in me, and my word abide in you, aske what ye will, and it shall be done for you. What can be more comfortable?

[5] *The bloudie law.*] See Fox's *Acts.* p. 1461, Burnet, vol. ii. p. 275.

Syr, you make answer your selfe so well, that I cannot better it. Syr, I begin now to smell what you meane: by travelling thus with mee, you use mee as Bilney did once, when hee converted mee: pretending as though hee would be taught of me, he sought waies and meanes to teach me, and so doe you I thanke you therefore most heartilie. For indeed you minister armour unto mee, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give my selfe to praier for my refuge.

Anton. object. 2. What is it then that offendeth you so greatlie in the masse that you will not vouchsafe once either to heare it, or see it[6]? and from whence commeth this new religion upon you? have not you used in times past to say masse your selfe?

M. Ridleys answere. I confesse unto you my fault and ignorance: but know you that for these matters I have done penance long agoe, both at Paules crosse, and also openlie in the pulpit at Cambridge; and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be desirous to knowe, and will vouchsafe to heare what things doe offend mee in the masse, I

[6] *Or see it.*] From this passage Dr. Gloc. Ridley argues that Fox was mis-informed, in the story which he tells of the bishop having once been induced to be present at the mass, and that he forbore it afterwards upon the remonstrance and arguments of Bradford. Ridley's *Life*, p. 434, 435. See Fox, p. 1457. Comp. also p. 1565, 1569. The account indeed, does not seem very probable, for the reasons stated by Ridley's biographer: to which we must observe in addition, that Fox relates precisely the same particulars respecting Bradford and bishop Ferrar. *Acts*, &c. p. 1930. The non-conformists have occasionally appeared to give implicit credit to this story against Ridley, and have referred to it in a temper in which, certainly, sorrow, and a tender compassion for human infirmity, are not the leading features. See *Peirce against Nicholls*, p. 31.

will

will rehearse unto you those things which be most cleare, and seeme to repugne most manifestlie against Gods word, and they be these: the strange tongue; the want of the shewing of the Lords death; the breaking of the Lords commandement of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all, under both kindes, according to the worde of the Lord; the signe is servilelie worshipped, for the thing signifyed; Christs passion is injuried, for asmuch as this masse sacrifice is affirmed to remaine for the purging of sinnes: to bee short the manifold superstitions, and trifling fondnesse which are in the masse, and about the same.

M. Latimer. Better a few things well pondered, then to trouble the memorie with too much. You shall prevaile more with praying, then with studying, though mixture bee best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousnes of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall bee but in vaine. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: we have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Bee yee stedfast and unmoveable saith S. Paule: and againe, persistito, stand fast. And how oft is this repeated, if yee abide, &c. But wee shall be called obstinate, sturdie, ignorant, headie, and what not? so that a man had neede of much patience, having to doe with such men.

Anton. object. 3. But you know how great a crime it is to separate your self from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schisme, or division. You have beene reported to have hated[7] the sect of the anabaptistes, and

[7] *To have hated.*] See Lewis's *Brief History of Anabaptism in England*, p. 51—54. A. D. 1738.

alwaies to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernitious error of Novatus, and of the heretikes called (Cathari) that they would not communicate with the church.

M. Ridleys answere. I know that the unity of the church is to bee retained by all meanes, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the masse, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish devise, whereby both the commandement and institution of our saviour Christ, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserablie deluded. The sect of the anabaptists, and the heresie of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, for as much as without anie just or necessary cause they wickedlie separated themselves from the communion of the congregation; for they did not alleadge that the sacraments were undulie ministred, but turning awaie their eies from themselves, wherewith according to saint Paules rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they alwaies reproved something for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholie thing.

M. Latimer. I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the interim after this sort with this saying of Hillary: the name of peace is beautifull, and the opinion of unitie is faire; but who doubteth that to be the true and onelie peace of the church, which is Christs? I would you had that little booke, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. Saint Paule when hee requireth unity, he joyneth straight withall, secundum Jesum Christum, according to Jesus Christ, no further.

Diotrephes

Diotrephes[8] now of late did ever harpe upon unitie, unity. Yea sir (quoth I) but in verity, not in poperie. Better is a diversitie, then an unity in poperie. I had nothing againe but scornefull jeers, with commandement to the tower.

Anton. object. 4. But admit there be in the masse that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault: if you doe not consent thereto, whie do you trouble your self in vaine? do not you knowe both by Cyprian and Augustine that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deedes?

M. Ridleys answere. If it were anie one trifling ceremonie, or if it were some one thing of it selfe indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which dooth not edifie the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietnesse I could bee content to beare it. But forasmuch as thinges done in the masse tend openlie to the overthrow of Christs institution, I judge that by no meanes either in word or deede I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to bee well spoken, if it be well understanded. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them which doe abhorre superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church instead of Gods word and the truth of the gospell.

M. Latimer. The verie marow bones of the masse are altogether detestable, and therefore by no meanes to be borne withall, so that of necessitie

[8] *Diotrephes.*] Bishop Gardiner.

the

the mending of it, is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation, and adoration, which doe hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papistes of them all will not set a button by the masse, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gaine that followeth thereon. For if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainefull to them, as the masse hath beene heretofore, they would strive no more for their masse; from thence groweth the griefe.

Anton. object. 5. Consider into what dangers you cast your selfe, if you forsake the church: and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to goe to masse. For the masse is the sacrament of unitie: without the arke there is no salvation. The church is the arke and Peters ship. Ye know this saying well enough: he shall not have God to be his father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church (saith S. Augustine) be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdome of heaven.

M. Ridleys answere. The holie catholike or universall church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the citie of God, the spouse of Christ, the bodie of Christ, the piller and stay of the truth, this church I beleeve according to the creede. This church I doe reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule, we goe forward unto life. And as many as walke according to this rule, I say with S. Paule, peace be upon them, and upon Israell, which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holie Ghost. The marks[9] whereby this church is knowne unto

9 *The marks.*] Compare *Art. sixth*, of the church of England. The marks here mentioned by Ridley are the same which are attributed to the church in the catechism of king Edward VI. See *Enchiridion Theologic.* vol. i. p. 44, 45.

me.

me in this darke world, and in the middest of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of Gods holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charitie, and faithfull observing of ecclesiasticall discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these markes, is in very deede that heavenlie Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that bee borne from above. This is the mother of us all: and by Gods grace, I will live and die the childe of this church. Foorth of this (I grant) there is no salvation: and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understanded of this church onely. In times past (sayth Chrysostome) there were many wayes to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastitie, by doctrine, by ministring the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take holde of the church, it is onely knowne by the scriptures which is the true church. They have all things in outward shew, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours, &c. And in the end concludedth; wherefore onely by the scriptures doe we know which is the true church. To that which they saie, the masse is the sacrament of unitie: I aunswere. The bread which we breake, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unitie of Christs mysticall body. For we being many, are one bread, and one body, for somuch as wee all are partakers of one bread. But in the masse, the Lords institution is not observed: for wee bee not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seeme a sacrament of singularitie, and of a certaine speciall priviledge for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather then a sacra-

sacrament of unitie, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

M. Latimer. Yea what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore is it not lawfull to beare the yoke with papists. Come forth from among them, and separate your selves from them, sayeth the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfait the church. Would God it were well knowne, what is the forsaking of the church. In the kinges days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or massemongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church abiding in the same proceedings? If clancularie massemongers might be of the church, and yet contrarie to the kings proceedings, why may not we be as well be of the church contrarying the queens proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thy selfe from them that are such, saith S. Paul: from whom? The text hath before. If any man follow other doctrine, &c. hee is puft up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that yee may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses,

Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis.

That is this is to be ignorant, to knowe many things without Christ: if thou knowest Christ thou knowest inough, though thou know no more. Therefore would saint Paul know nothing, but Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and massemongers, they may well be said to

to know nothing. For they knowe not Christ, for as much as in their massing they take much away from the benefite and merite of Christ

Anton. object. 6. That church which you have described unto me, is invisible, but Christes church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, *dic Ecclesiæ.* Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vaine to goe unto the church if a man cannot tell which it is.

M. Ridleyes answere. The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seene; and also, I have afore declared, by what markes and tokens it may be knowne. But if either our eies are so dazled, that we cannot see, or that sathan hath brought such darknesse into the world that it is hard to discerne the true church: that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindnesse, or of sathans darknes. But yet in this most deep darknes, there is one most cleere candle, which of itselfe alone is able to put away all darkenesse. Thy word is a candle unto my feete, and a light unto my steps.

Anton. object. 7. The church of Christ is a catholike or universall church, dispearsed throughout the whole world: this church is the great house of God, in this are good men and evill mingled together, goates and sheep, corne and chaffe: it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes. This church cannot erre, because Christe hath promised it his spirit, which shall lead it into all truth; and that the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it; that hee will be with it unto the end of the world: whatsoever it shall loose, or binde upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the piller and staie of the truth: this is it for the which saint Augustine saith, he beleeveth the gospell. But this universall church

church alloweth the masse, because the more parte of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

M. Ridleyes his answere. I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers maners in the scriptures. Sometime for the whole multitude of them which professe the name of Christ, of the which they are also named christians. But as saint Paul saith of the Jew, not everie one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of Israell, are counted the seede, even so not every one which is a christian outwardly, is a christian in deede. For if any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his.

Therefore that church which is his bodie, and of which Christ is the head, standeth onely of living stones, and true christians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forsomuch as this church (which is the second taking of the church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward societie of the sacraments and ministerie of the worde, many things are spoken of that universall church (which saint Augustine calleth the mingled church) which cannot truely be understanded, but onlie of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius [1] concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof: that is either for the multitude of good men, which is the verie true church indeed, or for the multitude of evill men, which is the malignant church

[1] *Rule of Ticonius.*] Augustinus *De Doctrina Christiana*, l. 3, cap. 32.

and

and synagogue of sathan: and is also the third taking of the church: of the which, although there be selldomer mention in the scriptures, in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendome, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sortes of churches, it is an easie matter, by a figure called Synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universall church, that which cannot truely be understanded but onely of the one parte thereof.

But if any man will stiffely affirme, that universall doth so pertain unto church that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needes be understanded of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universall church was in the times of the patriarkes and prophets, of Noah, Abraham and Moses, (at such time as the people would have stoned him) of Helias, of Hiereme, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles, in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthie to be noted, that Lira writeth upon Mathew. The church (saith he) doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignitie, whether it be ecclesiasticall, or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors have beene found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. Evill men (as it is in a glose of the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deede. And saint Augustine, *contra Cresconium grammaticum* saith: Whosoever is afraide to be deceived by the darkenesse of this question, let him aske counsell at the same church of it: which church the scripture dooth point out without anie doubtfulnesse.

fulnesse. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let mee have the least of all my written bookes: wherein I am inforced to complaine of them unto God: for they spoyle me of all my labours, which I have taken in my studie these manie yeares. My memorie was never good, for helpe whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that therby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poore learning I had (as me thought) in store, to the intent that I now destitute of that, should from thenceforth learne onelie to knowe with Paule, Christ, and him crucified? The Lord graunt mee herein to be a good young scholler, and to learne this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c. make mee ever to forget that. Amen, amen.

M. Latimer. I have no more to say in this matter: for you your selfe have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of saint Augustine, I would not beleeve the gospel, &c. was woont to trouble many men. As I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philippe Melancthon: but my memorie is altogether slipperie. This it is in effect: the church is not a judge, but a witnesse. There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimonie of the church, and the outward ministerie of preaching, and rejected the outward word it selfe, sticking onely to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drave saint Augustine into that excessive vehemencie. In the which after the bare sound of the wordes, hee might seeme to such as do not attaine

unto

unto his meaning, that hee preferred the church farre before the gospell, and that the church hath a free authoritie over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministerie to be a thing not necessarie, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not sticke to affirme that the more part of the great house, that is to say of the whole universall church, may easily erre. And againe, I would not sticke to affirme that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a masse of the Holy Ghost * going before. For in the first Christ ruleth, in the latter the divell beareth the swinge: and how then can any thing be good that they goe about? From this latter shall our sixe articles come forth againe into the light, they themselves being verie darknesse. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholicke church may be seene of men or no? Saint Paule saith, The Lord knoweth them that are his. What maner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we know as well as he, who are

* *A masse of the Holy Ghost.*] That is, according to the practice of the church at the opening of councils, convocations, &c. "Therefore, I say, it is both laudable and necessary, that all councels be begon with prayers unto our mercyfull Father, and in our prayers to open unto him our necessities, and to call uppon him for ayde to rule oure hartes wholly to seke his glory. But this must be done ernestly with harty mourning unto him, not slenderlye, not for a face and custume only, as hath bene hetherto used, to *have an unholy masse of the Holy Ghost*, rolled up with discant, pryksonge, and organes, wherby mens hartes be ravished cleane bothe from God, and from the cogitations of al such things as they ought to pray for." *Complaint of Roderyck Mors unto the Parliament House of England.* Signat. A 5 b. See also Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. i. p. 50.

his?

his? Well, thus is the text: The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seale, the Lord knoweth them that are his, and let everie man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquitie. Now how manie are there of the whole catholicke church of England, which depart from iniquitie? How many of the noble men, how many of the bishops or clergie, how many of the rich men, or marchants, how many of the queenes counsellors, yea, how many of the whole realme? In how small roome then, I pray you, is the true church within the realme of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceite of mine owne well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

Anton. object. 8. Generall councels represent the universall church, and have this promise of Christ, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the middest of them. If Christ bee present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in generall councels masse hath bin approved and used. Therefore, &c.

M. Ridleyes answere. Of the universall church which is mingled of good and bad, thus I thinke [3]: whensoever they which be chiefe in it, which rule and governe the same, and to whom the rest of the whole mysticall body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walke after the guiding and rule of his word, and goe before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedlie counsels gathered together of such guides and pastours of the christian flocke doe indeed represent the universall church, and being so gathered in the name of

[3] *Thus I thinke.*] Compare *Artic.* xxist. of the church of England.

Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his spirit into all truth. But that any such counsel hath at any time allowed the masse, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions, that I utterlie denie, and affirme it to bee impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darknesse, betweene Christ and Beliall, so surelie superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship, and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is in spirit and trueth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a companie is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I aunswere: if there be one hundred good, and two hundred badde (forsomuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the lesse number of voices availe? It is a knowne thing, and a common proverbe: Oftentimes the greater part overcommeth the better.

M. Latimer. As touching generall councels, at this present I have no more to say, than you have sayde. Only I referre you to your owne experience, to thinke of our countrey parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have seene and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the sixe articles: for then the king would so have it, being secured of certaine. Afterward the more part did repell the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same articles now againe (alas) another great, but worse part hath restored. O what an uncertaintie is this? But after this sort most commonly are mans proceedings; God be mercifull unto us. Who shall deliver us from such tormentes of mind? Therefore is death the best physitian, but unto the faithfull,

faithfull, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefes. You must thinke this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted.

Anton. object. 9. If the matter should go thus that in generall councels men should not stand to the more number of the whole multitude (I meane of them which ought to give voices) then should no certaine rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weightie matters might be determined: but it is not to be beleeved, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessarie a helpe and safegard.

M. Ridleyes answere. Christ, who is [4] the most loving spouse of his espouse the church, who also gave himselfe for it, that he might sanctifie it unto himselfe, did give unto it abundantly all thinges which are necessarie to salvation, but yet so, that the church should declare it selfe obedient unto him in all thinges, and keep it selfe within the boundes of his commaundements, and further not to seeke any thing which hee teacheth not, as necessarie unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christs religion, Christ himselfe hath left unto the church not onely Moses and the prophets, whome hee willeth his church in all doubtes to goe unto, and aske counsell at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the Newe Testament: in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessarie to be knowne unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to say, who shall clime up into heaven, or who shall goe downe into the deapth, to tell us what is needfull to be

[4] *Christ who is.*] Compare *Artic.* vith. and xxth. of the Church of England.

doone?

doone? Christ hath doone both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantlie declared unto us in his word written, so that heereafter if wee walke earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the trueth, it is not to be doubted, but thorow the certain benefit of Christs spirit, which he hath promised unto his, wee may finde it, and obtaine everlasting life. Should men aske counsell of the dead for the living, saith Esay? Let them go rather to the lawe and to the testimonie, &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the scriptures, saying: Search the scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of Hierom: Ignorance of the scriptures, is the mother and cause of all errours. And in another place, as I remember in the same author: The knowledge of the scriptures is the food of everlasting life. But now me thinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to to shew, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it, that I am now about, that Christ would have the church his spouse in all doubtes to aske counsell at the word of his father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the olde and the new. Neither doe wee reade that Christ in any place, hath laide so great a burthen upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to goe to the universall church. What soever things are written saith Paule, are written for our learning. And it is true that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepheardes and teachers, to the edifying of the saintes, till wee come all to the unitie of faith, &c. But that all men should meete together out

of all partes of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither finde it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

H. Latimer. There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politike and civill matters. For in the first wee must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they bee well understanded. And they offer themselves to bee well understanded onely to them, which have good willes, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men lesse apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civill or politike matters, oftentimes the magistrates doe tolerate a lesse evill, for avoiding of a greater: as they which have this saying oft in their mouthes: better an inconvenience than a mischiefe. And it is the propertie of a wise man, saith one, to dissemble many thinges; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule. In which sayinges they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherfore forasmuch as mans lawes, if it be but in this respect onely, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are inforced of necessitie to suffer many thinges out of square, and are compelled sometime to winke at the worst things: seeing they knowe not how to maintaine the common peace and quiet otherwise, they doe ordaine that the more part shall take place. You knowe what these kindes of speeches meane, I speake after the maner of men: yee walke after the maner of men; all men are lyars. And that of saint Augustine: if ye live after mans reason, yee doe not live after the will of God.

Anto.

Anto. object. 10. If yee say that councels have sometime erred, or may erre, how then should we beleeve the catholike church? for that counsels are gathered by the authoritie of the catholike church.

M. Ridleyes answer. From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument: but from being to may be, no man doubteth, but it is a most sure argument. But now that councels have sometime erred, it is manifest. How many councels were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene councell? and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slaunderous name (as they thought) Homousians. Was not Athanasius, Chrysostome, Cyrill, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretikes, and that by *wicked* councels? How many thinges are there in the canons and constitutions of the councels, which the papists themselves do much mislike? But here peradventure one man will say unto me: We will grant you this in provinciall councels, or councels of some one nation, that they may sometimes erre, forsomuch as they doe not represent the universall church: but it is not to be beleeved, that the generall and full counsels have erred at any time. Heere if I had my bookes of the councels, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those bookes, I could bring something which shuld serve for this purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of saint Austen, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter in steed of many. Who knoweth not (sayth he) that the holy scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawfull to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reprooved by other mens wordes, and by councels, and that the councels themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do

give place to the authoritie of the generall and full councelles: and that the former generall councels are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of thinges, either that which was shut up, is opened, or that which was hid is known. Thus much much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian, upon matter confessed. Heer with us when as papistrie raigned, I pray you how doth that booke which was called the Bishops Booke, made in the time of king Henrie the eight, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father or chiefe gatherer: how doth it (I say) sharpely reproove the Florentine councell, in which was decreede the supremacie of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those daies our learned ancient fathers, and bishoppes of England, did not sticke to affirme, that a generall councell might erre. But me think I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying: these which you have called councels, are not worthy to be called councels, but rather assemblies, and conventicles of heretikes. I pray you sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slaunderous a name? Because (sayth he) they decreed things heretically, contrarie to true godlinesse, and sound doctrine, and against the faith of christian religion. The cause is waightie, for the which they ought of right so to bee called. But if it be so that all councels ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrarie to sound doctrine, and the true worde, which is according to godlinesse, for so much as the masse, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God, forsooth it must followe of necessitie, that all such councels, as have approoved such masses, ought of right to bee fled and despised as conven-

conventicles, and assembles of men that stray from the truth.

Another man alledgeth unto me the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, without which, neither can the councels (saith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determin any thing concerning religion. But this objection is onely grounded upon the ambitious and shamelesse maintainance of the Romish tyrannie, and usurped dominion over the clergie, which tyrannie wee English men long agoe, by the consent of the whole realme, have expulsed, and abjured. And how rightlie we have done it, a little booke[5], sette forth *de utraque potestate* (that is of both the powers) doth clearely shewe. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to it selfe and to usurpe such a priviledge of olde time. But the councell of Carthage, in the yeare of our Lord 457. did openly withstand it, and also the councel at Milevite, in the which S. Augustine was present, did prohibite any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea.

Anto. object. 11. Saint Augustine saith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evill, but the evill are to bee borne withall for the good. Ye will not say (I trowe) that in our congregations all bee evill.

M. Ridleyes answere. I speake nothing of the goodnesse or evilnesse of your congregations: but I fight in Christs quarrell against the masse, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the

[5] *A little booke*] Intitled *De differentia regiæ potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ, ac quæ sit ipsa veritas ac virtus utriusque*. A. D. 1534, attributed commonly, to Fox, soon after made bishop of Hereford. In the reign of Edward VI. it was translated into English by Henry Lord Stafford, and published with a dedication to the Duke of Somerset.

partition

partition of the wall that made the strife, shall bee broken downe. Now to the place of saint Austen, for bearing with the evill for the goodes sake, there ought to bee added other wordes, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places, that is, if those evill men doe cast abroad no seedes of false doctrine, nor lead other to destruction by their example.

Anto. object. 12. It is perillous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perillous is it to commit any act, unto the which, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the masse, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are clean contrarie. Therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I proove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people was miserably given to superstition, the priestes despised the law of God: and yet notwithstanding, wee neither read that the prophets made any schismes or divisions, and Christ himselfe haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jewes. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth houre of praier: Paule after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew, that either the prophetes, or Christ, and his apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacraments of Moses law.

M. Ridleyes answere. I grant the former part of your argument; and to the second part I say, that although it containe many true thinges, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and

the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles, yet notwithstanding the second part of your argument is not sufficientlie proved. For ye ought to have prooved, that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles did in the temple communicate with the people in anie kinde of worshipping which is forbidden by the lawe of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the church I am not angry with it, and I never refused to goe to it, and to pray with the people, to heare the worde of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. Saint Augustine speaking of the ceremonies of the Jewes (I suppose in the epistle ad Januarium) although he grant they greevously oppressed that people, both for the number, and bondage of the same, yet hee calleth them burdens of the lawe, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding if they were not contrary to Gods worde, might after a sort be borne withall. But now, seeing they are contrarie to those thinges, which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of anie christan or no, let him judge which is spirituall, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life, more than this short and transitorie life. To that which was saide that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrarie is most evident in the historie of Toby. Of whom it is saide, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Hieroboam the king of Israell had made, he himselfe alone fledde all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem, unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israell. Did not the man of God threaten

greevous

greevous plagues both unto the priestes of Bethell and to the altar which Hieroboam hadde there made after his owne fantasie? Which plagues king Josias the true minister of God did execute at the time appointed. And where doe wee reade that that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry? When as the people went a whooring with their hill altars, for what cause I pray you did the prophetes rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their owne mindes, and not after Gods word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophetes ceased not to maligne the true prophetes of God: therefore they beate them, they banished them, &c. How else I pray you can you understand that saint Paule alleadgeth, when hee saieth, what concord hath Christ with Beliall? Either what part hath the beleever with the infidell? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? for yee are the temple of the living God, as God himselfe hath sayde: I will dwell among them, and will bee their God, and they shall bee my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate your selves from them (sayeth the Lord) and touch none uncleane thing: so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sonnes and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

Judith that holie woman would not suffer her selfe to be defiled with the meates of the wicked. All the saints of God which truely feared God, when they have beene provoked to doe any thing which they knew to be contrary to Gods lawes, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the lawes of their God. Wherfore the Machabees, put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the

the lawe, yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we doe praise (sayth S. Augustine) the Machabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the lawes of their countrey; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptisme, for the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ? &c. But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I meane) as Christ commanderh us to celebrate, the masse utterlie abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully.

H. Latimer. Who am I that I should adde any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thanke you, that you have vouchsafed to minister so plentifull armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that hee cannot bee left destitute of helpe, which rightly trusteth in the helpe of God. I only learne to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Anto. object. 13. Seeing you are so obstinately set against the masse, that you will affirme, because it is done in a tonge not understanded of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what, therefore it is not the true sacrament ordained of Christ: I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholickely of baptisme also. Is our baptisme which we doe use in a tongue unknowne to the people, the true baptisme of Christ or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the masse. If it be not the baptisme of Christ, tell me how you were baptised? Or whether will yee (as the Anabaptists doe) that all which were baptised in Latin, should bee baptised againe in the English tongue?

M. Ridleyes answer. Although I would wish baptisme to be given in the vulgar tongue for the peoples

sake

sake which are present, that they may the better understand [6] their owne profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptisme, and in the Lords supper. Baptisme is given to children, who by reason of their age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lords supper is, and ought to be given to them that are waxen. Moreóver, in baptisme which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latine tongue, all the substantiall points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptisme to bee a perfect and true baptisme: and that it is not onely not needfull, but also not lawfull for any man so christened, to be christened againe. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechisme of the christian faith, when they shall come to yeares of discretion: which catechisme whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously imbrace and willinglie learne, in my judgement he playeth not the part of a christian man. But in the popish masse are wanting certaine substantials, that is to say,

[6] *The better understand.*] Thus in a *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, presented to King Henry VIII. in the last year of his reign, the suppliants complain against the clergy: They baptize our children in the Latin tongue, bidding us say *volo*, and *credo*, when we know not what it is they demand of us. By this means it is brought to pass, that we know not what we promise in our baptism; but superstitiously we think, that the holiness of the words, which sound so strangely in our ears, and of the water that is so oft crossed, is the doing of all the matter. Yea, we think that if our children be well plunged in the font, they shall be healthfull in all their limbs ever after. But if they suffer by any misadventure, or have any hurt in any of their members, incontinently we lay the fault, thinking that member was not well christened. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. i. p. 402,

thinges

thinges commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lords supper: of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

M. Latimer. Where you say (I would wish) surely I would wish, that you had spoken more vehemently and to have saide it is of necessitie, that all things in the congregation should be doone in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the childe it selfe is sufficientlie baptised in the Latine tongue.

Anto object. 14. Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffely, I will not say obstinately bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholsome counsels, no other kind of meanes can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which in like cases was wont to be the onlie remedie against stiffnecked and stubborne persons, that is, you must be hammered by the lawes, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that, which a rebell to the lawes ought to suffer. Doe you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the lawes of the realme, hee bewrayeth himselfe to be an enemie to his country? Doe you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition, and civill warre? It is better that you should beare your owne sinne, than that through the example of your breach of the common lawes the common quiet should bee disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queenes true subject, when as you doe openlie professe that you will not keepe her lawes?

M. Ridleyes answer. O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisedome, understanding and true strength, I beseech thee for thy onlie Son our Saviour Christes sake, looke mercifully upon mee wretched creature, and send thine holy Spirit into my breast, that not onely

onely I may understand according to thy wisedome, how this pestilent and deadlie dart is to be borne off, and with what answere it is to be beaten backe, but also when I must joyne to fight the field for the glorie of thy name, that then I being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the ende of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that hee which by words and gentlenes can not be made to yeeld to that is right and good, should be brideled by the streit correction of the lawes: that is to say, he that will not be subject to Gods word, must be punished by the lawes. It is true that is commonlie said: Hee that will not obey the gospell, must be tamed and taught by the rigor of the lawe. But these thinges ought to take place against him, which refuseth to doe that is right and just, according to true godlinesse; not against him, which cannot quietlie beare superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glorie of the name of God. To that which ye saie, a transgressour of the common lawes bewraieth himselfe to be an enemie of his countrey, surely a man ought to looke unto the nature of the lawes, what manner of lawes they be which are broken. For a faithful christian ought not to thinke alike of all manner of lawes. But that saying ought onely truely to be understanded of such lawes as be not contrarie to Gods word. Otherwise, whosoever love their countrey in truth (that is to say in God) they will alwaies judge (if at anie time the lawes of God and man be the one contrarie to the other) that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that

that thinke otherwise, and pretend a love to their countrey, forsomuch as they make their countrey to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the onlie stay of that countrey, surely I doe thinke that such are to be judged most deadly enemies, and traytors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safetie of their countrey, what do they else but go about to bring upon their countrey a present ruine and destruction. But they that doe so are worthy to be judged enemies to their countrey, and betrayers of the realme. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readiest way (yee saie) to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the common wealth: therefore are these thinges to be repressed in time, by force of lawes. Behold, sathan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readines to hurle against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers. For so hath he by his ministers alwaies charged the prophets of God. Achab saide unto Elias, art thou hee that troubleth Israell? The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremie, that his words were seditious and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisies falselie accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cesar? Did they not at the last cry, if thou let this man go, you are not Cesars friend? The oratour Tertullus, how doth hee accuse Paule before Felix the high deputie? We have found this man, sayeth he, a pestilent fellow and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jewes in the whole world, &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid. But they were of false men

men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reprooved before the people their guiles, superstition and deceits? And when the other could not beare it, and would gladlie have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the common wealth, that being by this meanes made hatefull to the people, and princes, they might the more easilie bee snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how farre they were from all seditions, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation doth well declare.

For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithfull subject to his prince, which professeth openlie that he will not observe the lawes which the princes hath made. here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgement in this cause I promise I will stand. I answere therfore, a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For hee that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a dutie to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince and an helper unto him to work his owne destruction. He is also unjust which giveth not to the prince that is the princes, and to God that is Gods. Here commeth to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinianus the emperour for choosing the bishop of Millaine. Set him (saith he) in the bishoppes seate, to whom if wee (as man) doe offend at anie time, wee may submitte our selves. Policarpus the most constant martyr, when he stoode before the chiefe ruler, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to sweare by the fortune of Cesar, &c. hee answered with mildé spirite: Wee are taught saith he, to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God; but such

such honour as is not contrarie to Gods religion.

Hitherunto ye see good father, how I have in words oneiie made as it were a flourith before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons, to fight against the adversarie of Christ, and to muse with my selfe how the dartes of the olde enemie may bee borne off, and after what sort I may smite him againe with the sworde of the spirit. I learne also hereby to be in ure with armour, and to assaie how I cannc goe armed. In Tyndall where I was borne, not farre from the Scottish borders,* I have known my countrie men to watch night and day in their harnesse, such as they hadde, that is in their jacks, and their speares in their hands (you call them Northen gads) specially when they had anie privie warning of the comming of the Scottes. And so doing although at everie such bickerings some of them spent their lives, yet by such meanes like prettie men they defended their countrey. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrell, and their offspring and progenie all the country loved them the better for their fathers sake. And in the quarrell of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his owne divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortalitie, yea, in the quarrell of faith, and christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall wee not watch? shall we not goe alwaies armed? ever looking when our adversarie (which like a roring lyon seeketh whom he may devoure) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulnes? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppresse us unawares, which undoubtedly he will doe, if he finde us sleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the

the house knew at what houre the theefe would come, he would surely watch and not suffer his house to bee broken uppe. Let us awake therefore I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the divell saith saint James, and he will flee from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the crosse upon our shoulders, let us follow our captaine Christ, who by his owne bloud hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attaine, the fountaine of the everlasting joys. Let us follow I say, whither hee calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby hee tryeth our faith as golde by the fire, wee may everlastingly raigne and triumph with him in the glorie of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost bee all honor and glorie now and for ever, Amen, amen.

Good father, forsomuch as I have determined with my selfe, to powre forth these my cogitations into your bosome, here me thinketh I see you sodainlie lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like wordes, Trust not my sonne (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so dooing I shall thinke my selfe both honoured, and loved of you.) Trust not, I say, my sonne, to these word weapons: for the kingdome of God is not in words but in power. And remember alwayes the wordes of the Lord, doe not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speake. For it shall be given you, even in that same houre what ye shall speake: for it is not ye

that speake, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. I pray you therefore Father pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and truſt upon him in all perils. For I knowe, and am surely perswaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or thinke aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his spirit when the time is. I beseech you therfore father pray for me, that such a complet harneis of the spirit, such boldnesse of mind may bee given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shal save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, &c. but the Lords delight is in them that feare him and put their trust in his mercie. I beseech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight onelie in the name of God, and that when all is past, I being not overcome, through his gracious aide, may remaine and stande fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtaine the victorie, shall bee given the lively manna to eate, and a triumphant crowne for evermore.

Now father, I pray you helpe me to buckle on this geare a little better. For yee knowe the deepenes of sathan, being a knowne souldior, and you have collared with him or now: blessed be God, that hath ever ayded you so well. I suppose he may wel hold you at the bay. But truely he will not bee so willing (I thinke) to joine with you, as with us yonglings.

Sir I beseech you, let your servant read this my babling unto you, and now and then as it shall seeme unto you best, let your pen run on my booke: spare not to blot my paper. I give you good leave.

M. Latimer.

M. Latimer. Sir I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto mee, but also to write it out [7]. For it is not onelie no bare armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thanke you even from the bottome of my hart for it, and my prayer shall you not lacke, trusting that you doe the like for me. For indeede there is the helpe, &c. Many thinges make confusion in memorie. And if I were as well learned as saint Paule, I would not bestow much amongst them: further than to gall them, and spurgall too, when and where as occasion were given and matter came to minde: for the lawe shall bee their shoot anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedie, namely, now when they have the maister bowl in their hand and rule the roste, but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put unto us, than to incurre Gods high indignation. Wherefore good my lord be of good cheere in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemie shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithfull, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto: sticke unto that and let them both say and doe what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of it self mortall. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them,

[7] *To write it out.*] Upon an occasion of alarm, and after some writings of Ridley's, among which was this conference, had fallen into the hands of his enemies, in a letter to Cranmer, he gives this advice, "Because in the book of N. R. and *H. L.* it is *saide in the ende*, that H. L. *hath caused his servant to write it*, I would *Austine*" (Bernher) "should have word, if any further serch be, to kepe him out of the way." Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 57. A. D. 1564.

when

when the houre appointed is come. To use many wordes with them it shall be but in vaine, now that they have a bloudie and deadly lawe prepared for them. But it is verie requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietlie heare you: else, yee knowe, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keepe silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophisticall sophismes and fallacies. You know that false thinges may have more appearance of truth, than thinges that bee most true: therefore Paule giveth us a watchword; Let no manne deceive you with likelinesse of speech. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious yee should followe strife of wordes, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vaine bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Feare of death doth most perswade a great number. Be well ware of that argument: for that perswaded Shaxton [8] (as many men thought) after that hee had once made a good profession, openly before the judgement seate. The flesh is weake, but the willingnesse of the spirite shall refresh the weaknesse of the flesh.

The number of the criers under the aultar must needes bee fulfilled: if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Phillippians, to whom it is given, not onely to beleeve, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to doe these things? Surely all our habilitie, all our sufficiencie is of God. Hee requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite, in the time of trouble, yea in the middest of the fire.

[8] *Perswaded Shaxton*] See Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 303. Also vol. i. p. 352.

When that number is fulfilled which I weene shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shal say peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great Parliament to the redresse of all things that be amisse. But hee shall not come as the papists faine him, to hide himselfe and to plaie bo peepe as it were under a piece of bread: but hee shall come gloriouslie, to the terror and feare of all papists: but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort your selves one another with these words.

Lo sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and plaied the foole egregiouslie: but so I thought better than not to doe your request at this time. Pardon me and pray for me: pray for me I say, pray for me I say. For I am sometime so fearefull, that I would creepe into a mouse hole: sometime God doth visite me againe with his comfort. So he commeth and goeth, to teach me to feele and to knowe mine infirmitie, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthie, least I should rob him of his dutie, as many doe, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

What credence is to be given to papists it may appeare by their racking, writhing, wrinching, and monstrously injuring of Gods holy scripture, as appeareth in the popes lawe. But I dwell here now in a schoole of obliviosnesse. Fare you well once againe, and be you stedfast and unmoveable in the Lorde. Paule loved Timothie marvellous well, notwithstanding hee saith unto him, Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospell: and againe, Harden thy selfe to suffer afflictions. Bee faithfull unto the death, and I will give thee a crowne of life, saith the Lord.

A Letter sent from Bishop Ridley, and his Prison-fellowes, unto Maister Bradford and his Prison-fellowes, in the Kinges Bench in Southwarke, an. 1555.

Well beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish to you, with all those that love God indeed and truth, grace, and health, and especially to our dearely beloved companions which are in Christs cause, and the cause both of their brethren and of their owne salvation, to put their necke willingly under the yoke of Christes crosse. How joyfull it was to us to heare the report of doctor Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c. I insure you, it is hard for me to expresse.

Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomache in the time of adversitie. As for the rumours that have or doe go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duetie towards their brethren in Christ, will not bee too light of credence. For it is not the slanderers evill tongue, but a mans evill deed that can with God defile a man: and therefore with Gods grace, ye shall never have cause to doe otherwise than ye say ye doe, that is not to doubt, but that we will, by Gods grace, continue, &c. Like rumor as yee have heard of our comming to London, hath been here spread of the comming of certain learned men, prisoners, hither from London: but as yet we knowe no certaintie whether of these rumours is, or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our dayly remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our aforesaide companions well in Christ.

It

It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most deare-ly beloved, which in this troublesome time doe stand in Chriſtes cause and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of maister Hoopers matter: but of the rest never a deale. We long to heare of father Crome, doctor Sandes, M. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thankes be to GOD, and yet the maner of our intreating doth change as sowre ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A cole chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floore: and no more harme was done, the bayliffes servants sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as master bailiffes told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same hee was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumor in the towne and countrey about, that wee ſhould have broken the prison with such violence, as if maister bayliffes had not plaied the pretie men, we should have made a scape. We had out of our prison a wall that wee might have walked upon, and our servants had libertie to goe abroad in the towne or fieldes, but now both they and we are restrained of both.

My lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visite us. The same day began our restraint to bee more, and the booke of the communion was taken from us by the bayliffes, at the maiors commandement, as the bayliffes did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore they might, that would, see us upon the wall, but that is so grudged at, and so evill reported, that we are now restrained. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evill reports, grudges, and restraints,

we

we are merie in God, and all our cure and care is and shall bee (by Gods grace) to please and serve him, of whom we looke and hope after these temporall and momentarie miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicitie with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paule, and all the heavenly company of the Angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any scholler, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a colledge of *Quondams*. For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which I doe reckon to be our heavenly Fathers fatherly good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. Wee shall by Gods grace one day meet together, and be merie. The daie assuredly approcheth apace: the Lord grant that it may shortly come. For before that day come, I feare me the world will waxe worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrowne and troden under foote: righteousnesse and trueth then shall have the victorie and beare the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that loveth truelie the truth.

We all pray you, as ye can, to cause all our commendations to be made to all such as ye know did visite us and you, when we were in the tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefites. Mistresse Wilkenson and mistresse Warcup have not forgotten us, but ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lacke (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us) but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to blesse God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us,

us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withall.

Yours in Christ, Nich. Ridley.

A Letter of M. Ridley, sent to a Cosin of his.

Gods Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen.

When I cal to remembrance (beloved cosin) the state of those that for feare of trouble, either for losse of goods, will doe in the sight of the world those things which they know and are assured are contrarie to the wil of God, I can doe no lesse but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pittiful (without speedy repentance) that I tremble and feare to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but onely lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instructions. But, alas, in steed thereof we have instructions to followe (I lament me to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they wil seeke to prooye it by the scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turne their harts, Amen. Commend me, &c.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

To Maister Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea and all the holy brotherhood that

that now with you in divers prisons suffereth, and beareth patiently Christes crosse for the maintenance of his gospell, grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalrie and warfare, wherin I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner, and his crosse, against our ghostly enemie the divell, and the old serpent satan, me thinke I perceive two thinges to bee his most perillous and most dangerous engines which he hath to impugne Christes veritie, his gospell and his faith: and the same two also to be the most massie postes, and most mighty pillers, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his satanical synagogue. These two, sir are they, in my judgment: the one, his false doctrine and idolatricall use of the Lords supper, and the other, the wicked and abhominable usurpation of the primacie of of the See of Rome. By these two [9] sathan seemeth to mee

[9] *By these two.*] Such testimonies as this are of great value, towards our obtaining a correct knowledge, and a solid judgment of the state and history of these times; by putting us in possession, from the very best authority, of those which were indeed the principal points of controversy at the period of the Reformation, a period which many are much too apt to speak, and think of with minds *prepossessed* by more modern controversies. It is not unlikely that bishop Ridley offered this remark to Bradford's consideration, by way of moderating his zeal respecting some disputes on free-will and predestination, which had arisen among the Protestant prisoners, in consequence of Cole, Harry Hart, and a few other obscure individuals having imbibed and propagated Pelagianizing notions. Ridley could not sympathize with Bradford's warmth on this subject (not because he did not think Bradford's sentiments, upon the whole, right and true, and Cole's, &c. wrong and false;) but, from thinking that Bradford over-rated the *importance* of the controversy, and the *influence* of his adversaries;

mee principally to maintaine and uphold his kingdome: by these two he driveth downe mightily (alas) I feare me, the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poysonfull rotten postes he hath so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unitie in Christs church, of the catholike faith and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John said not without great cause: If any know not satans subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withall. (Apoc. 2.)

versaries; by which coldness, it is plain, that Bradford was a little piqued.

With regard to his estimate, however, what were the most important points then in controversy, it is certain that Ridley was not singular in his judgment. "But what avayleth it" (says Cranmer) "to take away beades, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as two chiefe rootes remayne unpulled up, whereof, so long as they remayne, will spring agayne all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruption of his flocke. The rest is but braunches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting downe of weedes, leaving the body standing, and the rootes in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or rather the rootes of the weedes is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation of the real presence of Christes flesh and bloud in the sacrament of the aultar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christe made by the priest, for the salvation of the quicke and the dead." Preface to *Defence of the Catholic Doctrine*, &c. Againe, Philpot in his examinations, says, "There be *two things* principallie, by the which the clergie at this day doth deceive the whole realme; that is, the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ, and the name of the Catholike church, the which both they do usurp, having indeede none of them both." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1640. Without adducing any more, we will close our authorities with bishop Jewel. "Two principall things there be that seeme to beare up the whole brunt of the religion that hath been in the world of late time; the one is the masse, and things thereunto belonging; the other is the authority of the pope," Sermons, p. 174, 175. Edit. 1609. fol.

Sir,

Sir, because these be his principall and maine postes whereupon standeth all his falshood, craft, and trecherie, therefore according to the poore power that GOD hath given me, I have bended mine artillerie to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can doe, and of my shot I knowe they passe not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to doe the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten postes. The Lord grant me good successe, to the glorie of his name, and the furtherance of Christes gospell. I have now already (I thanke God) for this present time spent a good part of my pouder in these scriblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list: know you for a certaintie, by Gods grace, without al doubt, that in Christs gospels cause against and upon the foresaid Gods enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Fare well deare brother, and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretickes (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certifie you of our state. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.

Yours in Christ, Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of Maister Ridley, unto Maister Bradford and other his Prison-fellowes, an. 1555.

Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercie and peace.

According to your mind, I have runne over all your

your papers[1], and what I have doone (which is but small) therein may appeare. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much adoe to read that was written in your great leaves, and I weene some where I have altered some wordes, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall best be done with these thinges, now ye must consider: for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father: and as for any safegard that your custodie can be unto them, I am sure you looke not for it. For as you have beene partner of the worke, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drinke of the same cup. Blessed be God that hath given you libertie in the meane season, that you may use your penne to his glorie, and the comfort (as I heare say) of many. I blesse God dayly in you, and all your whole companie, to whome I beseech you commend me heartilie. Now I love my countrey-man in deed and in trueth, I meane doctor Taylour, not for my earthlie countreyes sake, but for our heavenlie Fathers sake, and for Christes sake, whome I heard saie, hee did so stoutly in time of perill confesse; and yet also for our countreyes sake and for all our mothers sake, but I meane of the kingdome of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem: and because of the spirite, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in your companie such blessed fruites of boldnesse in the Lordes cause, of patience and con-

[1] *Your papers.*] "This was a treatise of the Lord's Supper, with other things which M. Bradford sent him to peruse, and to judge thereof." Fox's Margin. The Treatise on the Lord's Supper was printed, with a Preface, by Tho. Sampson, A. D. 1581. 12mo.

stancie.

stancie. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, performe and perfect this his owne deed, untill his owne day come, Amen.

And yet I perceive ye have not beene baited[a]; and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them doe no more to his, than is his blessed will and pleasure to suffer them to doe for his owne glorie, and to the profite of them which bee truely his. For the Father which doth guide them that be Christes to Christ, is more mightie than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the fathers hands: except I say, it please our Father, it please our maister Christ to suffer them, they shall not stir one haire of your heads.

My brother P. the bearer heereof, and maister Hoopers letters would that we should say what we thinke good concerning your mind, that is, not for to answere except yee might have somewhat indifferent judges. Wee are (as ye knowe) separated, and one of us cannot in anie thing consult with another, and much streight watching of the bailiffes is about us, that there be no privie conference amongst us. And yet as wee heare, the schollers beareth us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderfull thing, among so manie, never yet scholler offered to anie of us (so farre as I know) any maner of favour, either for or in Christs cause.

Now as concerning your demaund of our counsell, for my part I doe not mislike that which I perceive yee are minded to doe. For I looke for none other, but if ye answere afore the same com-

[a] *Not beene baited.*] This refers to a projected design of carrying Bradford, Hooper, Ferrar, Taylor, &c. down to Cambridge to hold a public disputation there, after the manner of that with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford. Ridley's *Life of bishop Ridley*, p. 521.

missioners

missioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paule. And yet further I think, that occasion afterward may be given you, and the consideration of the profite of your auditorie may perchance move you to doe otherwise.

Finallie, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able: but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to doe that which shall be most for his glorie, the profite of his flocke, and your owne salvation. This letter must be common to you and maister Hooper, in whome and in his prison fellow good father Crome I blesse God, even from the bottome of my heart: for I doubt not but they both doe to our maister, Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flocke: the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancie, and all maner of true godlinesse. But what shall I neede to say to you, let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whome all thinges heere are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may doe another good. Although I said the bailiffes and our hostesse streitly watch us, that wee have no conference or intelligence of anie thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us in steed of our servants, faithfull fellowes, which will be content to heere and see, and to doe for us whatsoever they can. It is Gods worke surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodnes. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you you all, Amen, amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have

have received [3] of late, both meat, money, and shirtes, not onelie from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they doe it: to him therefore bee all honour, glorie, and due thankes.

And yet I praie you doe so much as to shewe them that wee have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such thinges. This I desire you to doe: for I know they be of M. Hoopers and your familiar acquaintance. Maister Latimer was crased [5]: but I heare

[3] *We have received.*] It is a consolation to find that all were not like the learned men at Oxford. In two others of his letters to Bradford, Ridley says, "I am sure you have heard of our *new apparel*, and I doubt not but London will have their talke of it." And, "Do you not know that we have *victum et amictum e penario regio*?" Martyrs' *Letters*, p. 68, 69.

[4] *Latimer was crased.*] I know no other foundation besides this word *(crased)* for Dr. Glocester Ridley's speaking in his Life of bishop Ridley, p. 531, of a "*disorder in his brain*, which the hard usage in his old age had brought upon Latimer." I apprehend that his indisposition was only some aggravation, in consequence of his confinement, of the wounds which he had received by the fall of a tree, from which he had been "sore bruised;" and in consequence of which he complained to the commissioners at Oxford; "I beseech your lordships to set a better order heere at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have *a verie evill backe*, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harme." See p. 266.

That the word *crased* is not confined solely to *intellectual* derangements might, if it were necessary be established by authorities such as the following. "Her body dayly" (says bishop Fisher, speaking of his pious patroness the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, in a sermon preached on occasion of her death) "sholde have waxen more unweldy; her syghte sholde have be derked, and her herynge sholde have dulled more and more, her legges sholde have fayled her by and by, and

heare now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth againe.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of Maister Ridley unto Maister Bradford.

Oh deare brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father for Christ our Saviour his sake, to call upon you, and to bidde you to come, happy are you that ever you were borne, thus to be found awake at the Lords calling. Well good servant and faithful, because thou hast bin trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

O deare brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your owne native countrey? The wisedome and policie of the world may meane what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of Gods gracious goodnesse shall be plentifully powred abroad amongst his, our deere brethren in that country, by this your martyrdome. Where the martyrs for Christes sake shed their bloud, and lost their lives; oh what wondrous thinges hath Christ afterward wrought to his glorie, and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holie man doth by Christ sanctifie the place; Bro-

and all the other partys of her body waxe more *crased* every daye," p. 29. edit. 1708; or, this, "Mr. Dean of Worcester" (afterwards the famous bishop Hall) "is very *crazy* and sickly of late, and keeps his chamber, neither hath he been in the synod some of these last sessions." Hales's *Remains*, p. 430.

ther

ther Bradford, then happy and holy shal be that place, wherein thou shalt suffer and shalt be with thy ashes in Chrifts cause sprinkled over withall. All thy countrey may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life againe in his cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by Gods grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christs sake, to set thee safely home: and then good brother speake you, and pray for the remnant that are to suffer for Christes sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clerely.

Wee doe looke now everie day when wee shall be called on: blessed be God. I weene I am the weakest manie waies of our companie: and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenlie Father by Christ, that since I heard of our deere brother Rogers departing, and stout confession of Christ and his trueth, even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heavinesse in my heart, as I graunt I have felt sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knewe thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, Nicholas Ridley. Brother farewell.

To Augustine Bernher.

Brother Augustine, I blesse God with all my heart in his manifold mercifull gifts, given unto our deare brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first,

no doubt out of his gracious goodnes and fatherly favor towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the fore-front of the battell against his adversaries, and hath induced them all (so far as I can heare) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospels sake to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed bee even the same our heavenly father for our deare and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for: for I weene he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I doe not doubt but that he (for those giftes of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plentiously) hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keepe the high waie, *et sic currere uti tandem acciperent præmium.* The Lord be his comfort, wherof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I blesse God in our deare brother, and of this time protomartyr Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to bee a prebendary preacher of London. And now because Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherin he wil bestow him) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodnesse to strengthen mee to make up the trinitie out of Pauls church, to suffer for Christ whom God the father hath anointed, the holy spirit doth beare witnes unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well, I had no paper: I was constrained thus to write.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley answering to a certaine Letter of one Maister West, sometime his Chaplaine.

I wish you grace in God, and love of the trueth, without the which truely stablished in mens heartes by the mightie hand of almightie God, it is no more possible to stand by the trueth in Christ in time of trouble, then it is for the waxe to abide the heate of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed bee God) perswaded that this world is but transitorie, and (as S. John saith) the world passeth away and the lust thereof. I am perswaded Christes words to be true, whosoever shall confesse me before men, him will I confesse also before my father which is in heaven: and I beleeve that no earthly creature shal be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his father deny. This the Lord graunt, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death be able to remoove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish mee deepely to consider thinges pertaining unto Gods glory: but if you had wished also, that neither feare of death, nor hope of worldly prosperitie should let me to maintaine Gods worde and his trueth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked mee well. You desire me for Gods sake to remember my selfe. In deed sir, now it is time so to doe, for so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no lesse danger, then of the losse both of body and soule: and I trowe, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. Hee that will not feare him that threatneth to cast both body and soule into everlasting fire, whom will he

feare? with this feare, O Lord, fasten thou together our fraile flesh, that we never swarve from thy lawes. You say, you have made much sute for mee. Sir, God graunt that you have not in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of Gods worde and his trueth.

You have knowne me long in deed: in the which time it hath chaunced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant: for sodaine changes without substantiall and necessarie cause, and the headdy setting forth of extreamities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister[5] which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and informe

[5] *Confession unto the minister.*] Ridley's moderation in religious controversies was truly admirable, like that of the church, of which he was so illustrious an ornament, and in the settlement of which at this important time he bore so large a share. He was "always desirous" (as he expressed himself) "to set forth the *mere truth*, and *unity*." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. II. p. 25. And to enforce, that "charity woulde, we shoulde, *if it be possible, and so far as we maie, with the safegard of good conscience*, and maintenaunce of the trueth, *agree with all menne.*" *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, signat. F 6, edit. 1574.

His words to Bradford, in reference to the predestinarian controversy, cannot be too often inculcated, and deserve to be written in letters of gold. SIR, IN THOSE MATTERS I AM SO FEARFUL, THAT I DARE NOT SPEAK FARTHER, YEA ALMOST NONE OTHERWISE, THAN THE VERY TEXTE DOTHE, AS IT WERE, LEAD ME BY THE HAND. *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 64, 65. A. D. 1564. It is greatly to be lamented, that the notes which he had drawn up, on this subject, and which are mentioned in the same letter, were not printed, and cannot, probably, now be found.

On the subject of *private confession*, the curious reader may, perhaps, find it worth his while (if he have occasion) to consult the following references. *Communion Book* of 1547. (Sparrow's Canons, &c. p. 18, 19. edit. 1675.) *Second Book of Homilies*, p. 457—459. edit. 1802. Bradford's *Serm. on Repentance*, signat. C 1. *Letters of the Martyrs*, (Bradford's) p. 416—418. Sampson's *Letter*, signat. B 1. edit. 1554.

the

the weake, wounded, and ignorant conscience, in deede I ever thought might doe much good in Christes congregation, and so I assure you, I thinke even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching you say, you have heard often, and after your judgement have thought it godly, saving onely for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deale better then of the rest (as you say) yet in the margent you write (warily, and in this world wisely), and yet me thought al sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whome I fancied for plainenesse and faithfulnesse, as much, I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from mee unto this day? sir, I consider moe things then one, and will not say all that I thinke. But what neede you to care what I thinke, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? you give me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vaine-glory. Truely sir, I herein like your counsell very well, and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my lives end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will availe me. For this I would have you knowe, that I esteeme nothing availeable for me, which also will not further the glorie of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeale and desire of my deliverance out of this captivitie and worldly miserie, if I should not beare you a good heart in God againe, me thinke I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled how soone soever

ever it shall come. I know the Lordes wordes must bee verified on mee, that I shall appeare before the incorrupte judge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my shootanker of eternall salvation, yet am I perswaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to cleere his conscience, hee cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore mooveth me, considering you were one of my family and one of my houshold (of whom then I think I had a speciall cure, and of all them which were within my house, which indeed ought to have beene an example of godlinesse to all the rest of my cure, not onely of good life, but also in promoting of Gods word to the uttermost of their power, but alas, now when the triall doth separate the chaffe from the corne, how small a deale it is, God knoweth, which the winde doth not blow away), this conscience (I say) doth moove mee to feare, least the lightnesse of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have beene done. But blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottome of my heart, before my departing hence.

This conscience doth moove me also now to require both you and my friend doctor Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of Gods word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not neede to feare to bee charged with them of mee heereafter before the world, yet looke for none other (I exhorte you as my friendes) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This conscience and the love that I beare unto you, biddeth mee now say unto you both in Gods name, fear

God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soule into hell fire. When his wrath shall sodainly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of S. John is true, all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but of the world, and the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but hee that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternall salvation) were truely and unfainedlie graffed and firmely stablished in mens hearts, they would not be so light, so sodainly to shrinke from the maintenance and confession of the trueth, as is now (alas) seene so manifestly of so many in these daies. But heere peradventure you would knowe of mee what is the trueth. Sir, Gods word is the trueth, as saint John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the moone, yet Gods word is stable and abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truely sayde, Christ yesterday and to day, the same is also for ever.

When I was in office, all that were estemed learned in Gods word, agreed this to be a trueth [6] in Gods word written, that the common prayer of

[6] *This to be a trueth.*] Compare archbishop Cranmer to Q. Mary. "But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realme, some favouring the *old*, some the *new* learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the olde is the newe, and that which they call the new is indeed the old); but when a great number of such learned men of both sortes, were gathered together at Winsor, for the reformation of the service of the church; it was agreed by both without controversy, not one saying contrary, that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paule in the 14th chapter to Corinthians was so to be understanded." See Letter subjoined to Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, edit. 1580. p. 422.

the

the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never found man (so farre as I doe remember) neither olde nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what judgement soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrarie opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? if it cannot, why then do so manie men shrinke from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else, to confesse or denie Christ in this world, but to maintaine the truth taught in Gods word, or for any worldlie respect to shrink from the same? this one thing have I brought for an ensample: other things bee in like case, which now particularlie I need not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for feare or gaine of the worlde, anie one open truth of Gods word, if he be constrained, he will assuredlie forsake God and all his truth, rather then he will endanger himselfe to lose or to leave that he loveth better in deed, then he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like verie well your plaine speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or dy, and I thinke that you meane of the bodilie death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I knowe I must die, whether I agree or no. But what follie were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I coulde never escape this death which is so common to all, and also incur the gilt of death and eternall damnation? Lord grant that I may utterlie abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live. And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verilie, wishing mee to live, and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no lesse love of God,

God, then you doe me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you I say to all my friends and lovers in God) that if you doe not confesse and maintaine to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon Gods word, but will either for feare or gaine of the world, shrinke and play the apostata, in deede you shall die the death: you know what I meane. And I beseech you all my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the viii. day of Aprill. 1555.

M. Grindall now archbishop of Canturburie, beeing in the time of exile in the citie of Frankford, wrote to doctor Ridley then prisoner, a certaine epistle[7], wherin first he lamenteth his captivitie, exhorting him withall to be constant. Secondlie, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles, being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them. Thirdlie, he writeth to know his minde and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certaine other treatises and his disputations. Whereunto bishop Ridley answereth againe in order, as followeth.

The Answere of Doctour Ridley to the Letter abovesaide.

Blessed bee God our heavenlie father which enclined your heart to have such a desire to write

[7] *A certaine epistle.*] That letter, bearing date, Frankford, May 6th, 1555, is preserved in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 49; and is printed also by Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 11—13.

unto

unto me, and blessed be hee againe which hath heard our request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands: and over all this I blesse him thorough our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearely beloved brethren and countriemen in those parties beyond the sea.

Deerely beloved brother Grindall, I say to you and all the rest of your brethren in Christ with you, rejoyce in the Lord, and as ye love me and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives (which undoubtedly are Gloria Christi) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly father for his endlesse mercies and unspeakeable benefites, even in the middest of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For knowe yee, that as the weight of his crosse hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us: and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but hee will so doe for Christ our maisters sake, even to the end. To heare that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favor and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens, at Tigury, Frankford, and other where, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all heere that do in deed love Christ and his true word. I ensure you it warmed my heart, to heare you by chance to name some, as Scorie, and Coxe, &c. Oh that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers, but I trust in God they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parties with you of students and ministers so good a number[8], now

[8] *So good a number.*] "I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students, and ministers, on this side the seas." Grindal's Letter, p. 50.

there-

therefore care yee not for us, otherwise then to wish that Gods glorie maie bee set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home (as we looke daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, come) you, blessed be God, are enowe through his aide, to light and set up againe the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could finde the way to come to you. My disputation, except yee have that which I gathered my selfe after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithall the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English, contra transubstantiationem, vix possum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit nullo modo velim[9] ut quicquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certò constiterit: and thus much unto your letters. Now although I suppose yee know a good part of our state here (for wee are forth comming, even as when ye departed, &c.) You shall understand that I was in the tower about the space of two moneths close prisoner, and after that had granted to me without my labor the libertie of the tower,

[9] *Nullo modo velim.*] Ridley's solicitude on this subject, is illustrated, greatly to the credit of his wisdom and piety, by a short passage in a letter written by him to bishop Hooper. "I see me thinkes many perils whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishyng of your workes, especially under the title of your own name. For I feare greatly least by this occasion, both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and al things taken awaye from the reste of the prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to doe good to many." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 49.

and

and so continued about halfe a yeare, and then because I refused to allow the masse with my presence, I was shut up in close prison againe.

The last lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult[1] stirred up in Kent, there was so many prisoners in the tower, that my lord of Canturbury, M. Latimer, maister Bradford, and I were put altogither in one prison, where wee remained till almost the next Easter, and then we three, Canturburie, Latimer and I, were sodainly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsontide following was our disputations at Oxford, after the which was all taken from us, as pen and inke, &c. Our owne servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, wee three at the writing heereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheere. Wee have looked long ago to have been dispatched, for we were all three on one day within a day or two of our disputations, of doctor Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretickes, and since that time we remaine as we were of him lefte. The Lordes will be fulfilled in us, as I doe not doubt, but by his grace it shall be to his glorie, and our endlesse salvation thorough Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserved above all our expectation our deare brother, and in Christes cause a strong champion, John Bradford. Hee is likewise condemned, and is alreadie delivered to the secular power, and writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in againe.

[1] *The tumult.*] Wyat's rebellion.

Thus

Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whome he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderfull raging of the world. Many (as we heare say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christes trueth, and nothing yeelding to the adversarie, yea not for the feare or paines of death.

The names of them which I knewe, and have now suffered, are these, Farrar the bishop of S. Davids, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers unus olim comprebendarius, D. Taylor of Hadley, M Sanders, and one Tomkins a weaver; and now this last day M. Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many other in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the booke of life, whome yet I doe not knowe.

West, your old companion and sometime mine officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath shortened his daves, for anon after hee died and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heele and cast into the Marshalsey, but now is at libertie againe, but I feare me he escaped not without some becking and bowing (alas) of his knee unto Baal.

My deere friend Thomas Ridley of the Bulhead in Cheape, which was to me the most faithfull friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside that hath maried my sister, hath beene almost halfe a yeare in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certaine thinges, I weene, from me: but now thanks be to God, he is at libertie again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his parke.

Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least libertie, Vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis) mulier vetula, morosa, & superstitiosissima quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit

ducit quod me dicatur arctissime & cautissime custodire, vir autem ipse Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori vero plus quam obsequentissimus. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum & intolerabile jugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Recte ergo sapiens dixit, uxor bona donum Dei: & iterum, mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc inquam causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum: idque illi si quando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge (as I heare say) Omnes studiorum & statutorum reformationes nuper factæ, nunc sunt denuo deformatæ & deletæ, & omnia sunt in pristinum chaos & in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum præfecti qui syncéritati Evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt, & alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de sociis collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam et istud passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, & in toto clero: and to tell you much naughtie matter in few wordes: Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

The Lord be mercifull, and for Christs sake pardon us our olde unkindenes, and unthankfulnesse: for when he powred upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour (alas) wee did not serve him nor render unto him thankes according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much (alas) with the wicked world;

world; our magistrates did abuse to their owne worldlie gaine, both Gods gospell and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and unkinde. Thus of everie side and of everie sorte wee have provoked Gods anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those waies which so wholie have displeased his secret majestie, but hath awaked them by the fatherlie correction of his own sonnes crosse, unto his glorie and our endlesse salvation, thorough Jesus Christ our Lord.

My dailie praier is (as God doth know) and by Gods grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you my deere bretheren that are fled out of your owne country, because you will rather forsake all worldlie things then the truth of Gods word. It is even the same that I use to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the worlde, which have forsaken the kingdome of antichrist, and professed openlie the purity of the gospell of Jesus Christ: that is, that God our eternall father for our Saviour Christs sake, will dailie increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenlie spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his gospell, and make you to agree brotherlie in the truth of the same, that there arise no root of bitternes[z] among

[z] *No root of bitternes.*] There is reason to conjecture that these words were suggested to Ridley by the sorrow which he had felt at the intelligence of the lamentable divisions which had broken out abroad, and especially at Frankfort, among the exiles, respecting the usage or discontinuance of the English Liturgy. Knox, Goodman, and others, supported by the countenance of Calvin, quarreled with the English reformation, as not sufficiently *purified* from popery; and, urged on by the heat of controversy, declared themselves against the common prayer book, with a degree of vehemence and zeal almost

among you that may infecte that good seede which God hath sowne in your hearts alreadie, and finallie that your life maie be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of Gods word, and according to that vocation, whereunto we are called by the

almost incredible: and this at the very time, when the original compilers of that book, were shedding their blood in its cause. Dr. Covell, in his *Answer to the Apology of Mr. John Burges*, A. D. 1606, has printed an extract of a letter from Ridley to Grindall, written about this time, and upon this subject, which I shall here insert. It is much to be regretted that the letter has never (as far as I know) been given intire. "Alas! that our brother Knox could not beare with our booke of common prayer, in matters, against which, although (I grant) a man, as he is, of wit and learning, may finde to (Q. *or* ?) make apparent reasons, but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by Gods word, the reason he maketh against the Litany, and the fault *per sanguinem et sudorem*, he findeth in the same. I doe marveile how he can or dare avouch them before the learned men that be with you. As for private baptisme, it is not prescribed in the booke: but where solemne baptisme for lacke of time, and danger of death cannot be had, what would he in that case should be done? Peradventure he will say, it is better then to let them die without baptisme. For this his *better*, what word hath he in the scripture? And if he have none, why will he not rather follow that, that the sentences of the old ancient writers doe more allow? *from whom to dissent, without warrant of God's word, I cannot thinke it any godly wisdome.* And as for purification of women, I ween the word purification is changed, and it is called Thanksgiving. Surely maister Knox, in my mind, is a man of much good learning, and of an earnest zeale: the Lord grant him to use them to his glorie!" P. 69. These unhappy disputes abroad, being the well-spring, as it were, of a fresh and most important controversy, a controversy which was revived at the accession of Elizabeth, and which subsists even to this day, a knowledge of their history is very material to the theological student. An interesting account, though very partial to the Puritans, was published in the year 1575, intitled, *A brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany, Ann. Dom. 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies.* This scarce tract was reprinted in the second vol. of the Phenix, A. D. 1708.

gospell

gospell of Christ our Saviour, that the honestie and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honestie and vertues sake, and so both in brotherlie unitie of your true doctrine, and also in the godlie vertue of your honest life, to glorifie our father which is in heaven.

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, Cancellarius Wintoniensis, Comes Arundell, & Dominus Pachetus jam legatione funguntur, una cum cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, & Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus & jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare, nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrum precibus me humillime ex toto corde commendo: In primis, tuis o charissime in Christo frather, et dilectissime Grindalle, & charissimorum fratrum & unice mihi in domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chamberi & omnium fratrum nostrorum & conteraneorum qui apud vos degunt, & diligunt dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendissimos patres & concaptivos meos in domino Thomam Crannerum, jam vere magni pastoris & Archipresulis nomine dignissimum & vteranum illum Christi & nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi frater harum prolixitatem, non enim posthac credo charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonii. N. R.

A Treatise or a Letter written by Doctour Ridley, instead of his last Farewell, to all his true and faithfull Friendes in God, with a sharpe Admonition withall unto the Papists.

At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of thinges in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confesse, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glorie of God the father, Amen.

As a man minding to take a farre journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure; so likewise now I looking daily, when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dearelie belooved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ that dwell here in this worlde) having a like minde towards you all (and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thanke his heavenlie goodnes:) to bid you all my deare brethren and sisters (I say in Christ) that dwell upon the earth, after such maner as I can, farewell.

Farewel my deare brother George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithfull, trustie, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my crosse, over al other to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which liked me best, over all other things; in Gods cause ever harty.

Farewell my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to heare of thee, that thou doest take Christes crosse which is laide now (blessed be God) both on thy backe and mine, in good part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him, and obey him, accord-

ing

ing to Gods lawe. Honour thy mother in lawe his mother, and love all those that pertaine unto him, being readie to doe them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and feare God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shal also make him friendly and beneficiall unto thy children, even as if they had beene gotten of his owne bodie.

Farewell my welbeloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoun, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth;" whom besides the naturall league of amitie, your tender love, which you were said ever to beare towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth binde me to love. My minde was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquited it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whome I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

Farewell my belooved sister of Unthank, with all your children, nephewes, and neeces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my minde was to have bene unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they would love him and feare him, and live in the trade of his law.

Farewell my welbeloved and worshipfull cosins, master Rich. Ridley of Willimountswike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindnes shewed both to me, and also to al your owne kinsfolke and mine. Good cosine, as God hath set you in our stocke, and kinred (not for any respect of your person, but of his aboundant grace and goodnesse) to be as it were the belweather to order and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his

manifold giftes of grace both heavenlie and worldlie above others: so I pray you good cosin (as my trust and hope is in you) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honestie, righteousnes, and all true godlinesse, and to the uttermost of your power withstand falshood, untruth, unrighteousnes, and al ungodlinesse, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and lawes of God.

Farwell my young cosin Rafe Whitfield. Oh your time was verie short with me. My mind was to have don you good, and yet you caught in that little time a losse; but I trust it shall be recompenced, as it shall please almighty God.

Farewell all my whole kinred and countrimen, farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my harts desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with mee abundance of Christes blessed gospell, according to the dutie of that office and ministerie, whereunto amongst you I was chosen, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerelesse prince king Edward, and so also denounced openlie in his court, by his privie councell.

I warne you all my welbeloved kinsfolke and countrimen, that ye be not amazed or astonied at the kind of my departure and dissolution: for I insure you, I thinke it the most honor that ever I was called unto in all my life, and therefore I thank my Lord God heartilie for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercie unto this high honour, to suffer death willinglie for his sake, and in his cause: unto the which honour hee hath called the holie prophets and dearelie belooved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For knowe yee that I doubt no more but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are Gods causes, and the

the causes of the truth, then I doubt that the gospell which John wrote, is the gospell of Christ, or that Paules epistles are the verie word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in Gods cause, and in Christs quarrell even unto death, I ensure thee (O man) it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given onelie to the true elects and dearelie belooved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdome of heaven. For the holie apostle and also martyr in Christes cause, saint Peter saith, If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christs cause, and for his truthes sake, then are ye happie and blessed, for the glorie of the spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebukes sake suffered in Christs name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holie apostle, blessed and happie; how much more happie and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also? Wherefore, all ye that bee my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me heartie thankes to God our heavenlie father, that for his sonnes sake my saviour and redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call mee, being else without his gracious goodnes, in my selfe but a sinful and a vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithfull apostles, and of his holie elect and chosen martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporall life in the defence and maintenance of his eternall and everlasting truth.

Yee know that be my countriemen dwelling upon the borders, where (alasse) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the theeves hand, if it chance a man to be slaine of a theefe (as it often chanceth there) which went out with his neighbour to helpe him to rescue his goods againe, that the more cruellie he be slain, and the more stedfastlie

he

he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the theefe, the more favour and friendship shall all his posteritie have for the slaine mans sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memorie of his fact, and his posterity doth indure: even so yee that bee my kinsfolke and country men know yee (howsoever the blinde, ignorant, and wicked world herafter shal raile upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse then their fathers did, of the death of Christ our saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs:) know ye, I say, that both before God and all them that be godlie, and that truelie know, and follow the lawes of God, ye have, and shall have by Gods grace ever cause to rejoice, and to thanke God highlie, and to thinke good of it, and in God to rejoice of me your flesh and bloud, whome God of his gracious goodnes, hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed companie of his holie martyrs in heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodnes of my Lord God, nor in the faithfull fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands, in my cause, yee shall rather finde the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving againe in a thousand generations: the Lord is so full of mercie to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can shew more love then to give his life for his friend.

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolke and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more neere Gods cause, and in more waightie matters, but in the generall kinde all one. For both is Gods cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the

the common wealth, and both for the weale also of the Christian brother; although yet there is in these two no small difference both concerning the enemies, the goods stolne, and the maner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poore true man is robbed by the theefe of his owne goods truelie gotten (whereupon he and his houshold should live) hee is greatlie wronged, and the theefe in stealing and robbing with violence the poore mans goods doth offend God, doth transgresse his lawe, and is injurious both to the poore man, and to the common-wealth: so I say, know yee that even heere in the cause of my death it is with the church of England, I meane the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realme of England, which I acknowledge not onelie to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spirituall brethren and sisters in Christ, yea members of one bodie, wherein by Gods grace I am and have beene grafted in Christ. This church of England had of late of the infinite goodnesse, and aboundant grace of almightie God, great substance, great riches of heavenlie treasure, great plentie of Gods true and sincere word, the true and whole some administration of Christs holie sacraments, the whole profession of Christs religion, truelie and plainelie set forth in baptisme, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holie catechisme, to have beene learned of all true Christians.

The church had also a true and sincere forme and maner of the Lords supper, wherein according to Jesus Christs own ordinance, and holie institution, Christs commandements were executed and done. For upon the breade and wine set uppon the Lords table, thankes were given, the commemoration of the Lords death was had, the bread in the

remembrance of Christs bodie torne upon the crosse, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christs bloud shed, was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to doe.

All was done openlie in the vulgar tongue, so that the everie thing might be most easilie heard and plainelie understand of all the people, to Gods high glory and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and publike praiers ordained to be saide and heard in the common congregation, not onelie framed and fashioned to the true vein of holy scripture, but also set forth according to the commandement of the Lord, and S. Paules doctrine, for the peoples edification, in their vulgar tongue.

It had also holie and wholesom homilies, in commendation of the principall vertues, which are commended in scripture, and likewise other homilies against the most pernitious and capitall vices that useth (alas) to raigne in this realme of England. This church hadde in matters of controversie, articles so penned and framed after the holie scripture, and grounded upon the true understanding of Gods word, that in short time, if they had beene universallie received, they shoulde have been able to have set in Christs church much concord and unitie in Christs true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas, was almost overgone.

But alas, of late into this spirituall possession of the heavenlie treasure of these godlie ritches, are entred in theeves that have robbed and spoiled all this heavenlie treasure awaie. I may well complaine on these things, and cry out upon them with

the

the prophet, saying, Psal. 79, O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holie temple, and made Jerusalem a heape of stones: that is, they have broken and beaten downe to the ground thy holie citie. This heathenish generation, these theeves of Samaria, these Sabei and Chaldei, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England, of all the foresaide holie treasure of God: they have carried it away, and overthrowne it, and insteade of Gods holie word, the true and right administration of Christes holie sacraments, as of baptisme and others, they mix their ministerie with mens foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodlie traditions withall.

Instead of the Lords holie table, they give the people with much solemne disguising, a thing which they call their masse, but indeed and in truth, it is a verie masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a craftie jugling, whereby these false theeves and juglers have bewitched the mindes of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernitious idolatry, and make them to beleeve that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath anie life in it selfe, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lords table, is the sacrament of Christs bodie and bloud: and for this holie use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table. to represent unto us his blessed bodie torne upon the crosse for us, and his bloud there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and bloud; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And againe, saint Paule likewise doth set out the same more plainlie, speaking

ing of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shal eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lords death until his comming again. And here againe these theeves have robbed also the people of the Lords cup, contrary to the plaine words of Christ, written in his gospell.

Now for the common publike praiers which were in the vulgar tongue, these theeves have brought in againe a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word. Wherin what doe they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? and to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as S. Paule calleth it) barbarousnesse, childishnesse, unprofitable follie, yea and plaine madnesse?

For the godlie articles of unitie in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what doe these theeves place in the steed of them, but the popes lawes and decrees, lying legends, fained fables, and myracles to delude and abuse the simplicitie of the rude people? thus this robbery and theft is not onlie committed, nay, sacriledge and wicked spoile of heavenlie things, but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abhominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Senacherib, of the shamelesse faced king, and of the Babylonicall beast. Unto this robberie, this theft and sacriledge, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) never shall so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemie against God, high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Savior and Redeemer, it is plaine contrarie to Gods word, and to Christes gospell, it is the subversion of all true godlines, and against

the

the everlasting salvation of mine one soule, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my savior hath so dearly bought, with no lesse price, then with the effusion and sheading forth of his most precious bloud: therefore, all yee my true lovers in God, my kinsfolke and countreymen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death; which by Gods grace I shal willingly take, with harty thanks to God therfore, in certaine hope without any doubting, to receive at Gods hand againe of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

And thus much dear lovers and friends in God, my countrimen and kinsfolke, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures and commodities) yee might be abashed or thinke any evill: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoyce (if ye love me indeed) for that it hath pleased God to cal me to a greater honor and dignity, then ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester, or in the sea of London, or ever should have had in that sea of Durham, whereunto I was last of al elected and named: yea I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt) then is any earthly or temporal promotion or honor that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be Gods, to be Christs quarrell, and of his gospell, to bee the common weale of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, who is he (I say) that knoweth this assuredly by Gods word, and the testimonie of his own conscience (as I thorough the infinite goodnesse of God, not of my selfe, but by his grace acknowledge my selfe to do) who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth

loveth and feareth God indeed and in truth, loveth and beleeveth his master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say againe) that would not or cannot finde in his hart in this cause to be content to die? the lord forbid that any such should be that shuld forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his holy spirit in my hart, to stand against the face of the enemie in his cause, and to chuse rather the losse of all my wordly substance, yea, and of my life too, then to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aide me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end and to the yeelding up of my spirit and soule into his holy hands, whereof I most hartily beseech his most holy sacred majesty of his infinit goodnes and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countreymen and kinsfolke, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leasure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, then the universitie of Cambridge, whereas I have dwelt longer, found more faithfull and harty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my naturall parents only excepted) then ever I did even in mine owne native countrey wherein I was borne.

Farewell therefore Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea if I should not for thy benefites at the least love thee againe, truely I were to bee counted too ungrate and unkinde. What benefites

benefites hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestowe upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy schoole degrees; of the common offices, the chaplaineshippe of the university, the office of the proctorshippe, and of a common reader; and of thy private commodities and emoluments in colledges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholler, then to be fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledst me againe to a mastership of a right worshipfull colledge. I thank thee my loving mother for all this thy kindnes, and I pray God that his lawes and the sincere gospell of Christ, may ever bee truely taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late mine owne colledge, my cure and my charge: what case thou art in now God knoweth, I knowe not well. Thou wast ever named sithens I knew thee, which is now thirty years agoe, to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christes gospell, and of Gods true word: so I found thee, and blessed be God so I left thee indeede. Wo is me for thee mine owne deare colledge, if ever thou suffer thy selfe by any meanes to be brought from that trade. In thy orcharde[9] (thy wals, buts and trees, if they could

[9] *In thy orcharde.*] We are here reminded of, and may compare with the above, the account of some similar particulars respecting our honest historian, John Fox, then student at Magdalen college, Oxford, as they are detailed by his son, in the Life prefixed to some of the later editions of the *Acts and Monuments*.

"By report of some who were fellow students with him, he used over and above his dayes exercise, to bestow whole nights at his study, or not till it were very late to betake himself to rest. Near to the college was a grove, wherein for the pleasantness of the place, the students took delight to walk, and spend some idle hours for their recreation. This place, and

could speake, would beare me witnes) I learned without booke almost all Paules epistles, yea, and I weene all the canonicall epistles, save only the Apocalyps: of which studie, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carie with me unto heaven: for the profitte thereof I thinke I have felt in all my life time ever after. And I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that

and the dead time of the night, had master Fox chosen, with the horror of solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind; which, as a fresh water soldier, trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

"How many nights he watched in these solitary walks; what combats, and wrestlings he suffered with himself; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God; I had rather might be spared from this discourse, than touched with opinion of ostentation: but therefore of necessity was it to be remembered, because from hence sprang the first opinion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but that the more understanding sort out of their own wisdom, others according as they stood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worst sense. At length those with whom he was intimate being drawn into suspicion of him, there were some employed, who under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry with more curiosity into his words and actions: and there wanted not others, who comparing his customs formerly used with the present course he now took, did with more bitterness aggravate the fact. Why should he not come to church so often as in former times he had accustomed? why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself after his wonted manner, unless he had felt in his mind some sudden alteration? nor if that alteration were for the better would he conceal it.

"Being thus reported of, surrounded with treacheries, and by every one accused; when the matter came to more severe scanning, and that he could neither hide his resolution longer, nor, being a man of plain dealing, thought fit to excuse himself by forging a lie; by the judgment of the college, he was convicted, condemned as an heretick, and removed the house."

this

this zeale and love toward that part of Gods word, which is a key and true commentary to all holy scripture, may ever abide in that colledge, so long as the world shal endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canturbury Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to bee vicar of Herne[4] in East Kent. Wherfore farewel Herne, thou worshipfull and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to minister Gods word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christs gospell: Oh that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge mee to be thy debter for the doctrine of the Lords supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I blesse God in all that godly vertue and zeale of Gods word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the hart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Phines: the Lord grant that his word tooke like effect there in many other moe.

Farewell thou cathedrall church of Canturbury, the metropolitike sea, wherof once I was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee, I dare not for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lyeth in my hart, were now too much, and I feare were able to doe thee now but little good. Nevertheles, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake I wish thee to be washed clean of al worldlines and ungodlines, that thou maist be found of God after thy name Christs church in deed and in truth.

4 *Vicar of Herne.*] He was collated, April 30th, A. D. 1538. Cranmer's *Register*, fol. 364.

Farewell

Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedrall sea, in whom (to say the truth) I did finde much gentlenesse and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to Gods glorie and thine owne profite in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightst have continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods law, wherin I did leave thee: then thy charge and burden should not have beene so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say, then I have sayd before to the cathedrall church of Canturbury, and so God give thee of his grace, that thou maist learne indeed and in truth to please him after his owne lawes; and thus fare you well.

Oh London, London, to whom now may I speake in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speake to the prebendaries of Paules? Alas, all that loved Gods word, and were the true setters forth thereof, are now (as I heare say) some burnt and slaine, some exiled and banished, and some holden in harde prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christs gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I knowe they could never brooke me well, nor I could never delight in them.

Shall I speake to the sea thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully by the space of three yeares? But what may I say to it, being (as I heare say I am) deposed and expulsed by judgement as an unjust usurper of that roume. O judgment, judgement! Can this be just judgement to condemne the chiefe minister of Gods word, the pastour and bishop of the diocesse, and never bring him into judgement, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor never suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself?

self? Thinkest thou that hereafter when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or of man? Wel, as for the cause and whole matter of my deposition, and the spoile of my goods which thou possessest yet, I referre it unto God which is a just judge: and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personall wrong, be not laide to thy charge in the latter day; this onely can I pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloudy sea, why doest thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrowen the Lords table? Why doest thou dayly delude thy people, masking in thy masses in steede of the Lords holy supper, which ought to bee common aswell (saith Chrysostome, yea the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou denie to the people of Christ, contrary to his expresse commandement in the gospell, his holy cuppe? Why bablest thou to the people the common praier in a strange tongue, wherein saint Paule commandeth in the Lords name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, harken thou wicked limme of antichrist, thou bloudy wolfe, why slayest thou downe, and makest havocke of the prophets of God? Why murtherest thou so cruelly Christs poore seely sheepe which will not heare thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their owne pastour Christ his voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord wil not require the bloud of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the worke of thy hands, and whom thou saiest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumbe god (I say) will not in deede, nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him

thy maker[5]) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and almighty God. But be thou assured that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his father in glorie, he seeth all thy wicked waies and cruelty done to his deare members, and he will not

[5] *To call him thy maker.*] "The people beleeve that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself, betweene the handes of the priests: for so is the common oath they sweare, *By him whom I saw this day betweene the priest's hands.*" Walter Brute in Fox's *Acts*, p. 456. In the year 1520, John Southwike was compelled to abjure, it being objected against him, that when "one Rivelay, coming from the church of the Gray Friars, in London, had said to his wife, asking where he had beene, that he had heard masse, and had *seen his Lord God* in forme of bread and wine over the priest's head, the foresaid John Southwike there present answered againe and said, 'Nay, William, thou sawest not thy Lord God: thou sawest but bread, wine, and the chalice.' And when the said William answered againe in the same wordes, as before, saying, 'I trust verily, that I saw my Lord God in forme of bread and wine, and this I doubt not:' the other replying again answered and said, as before, 'Nay, I tell thee, thou sawest but onely a figure or sacrament of him, the which is in substance, bread and wine." Fox's *Acts*, &c. p. 745. Cranmer, in his *Catholic Doctrine*, has given a lively description of the customs of the people, in reference to this very material part of the devotion of that day. "What neade the people to runne from their seates to the aultar, and from aultar to aultar, and from *sakering* (as they called it) to *sakering*, peeping, tooting, and gasing at that thing which the priest held up in his handes, if they thought not to honour that thing which they saw? what moved the priests to lift up the sacrament so hye over theyr heades? or the people to cry to the priest, 'Hold up, hold up:' and one man to say to another, 'Stoup down before:' or to say, 'This day have I *seene my Maker.*' And, 'I cannot be quiet, except I see my Maker once a day.' What was the cause of all these, and that as well the priest, as the people, so devoutly did knocke and kneele at every sight of the sacrament, but that they worshipped that visible thing, which they saw with theyr eyes, and tooke it for very God?" &c. Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, p. 238, 239. Edit. 2d.

forget

forget his holy ones, and his handes shalt thou never escape. Insteede of my farewell to thee now I say fie upon thee, fie upon thee, and all thy false prophets?

Yet thou O London, I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopall sea, now being joyned in league with the seat of Sathan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God: yēt I doe not doubt but in that great city there be many privie mourners which do dayly mourne for that mischiefe, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickednes, but doe detest and abhorre it as the wayes of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will passe by, and bid them farewell with their fellowes hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipfull of the city, and specially which were in office of maioralty, yea and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessarie) in the time of my ministerie, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hils yeer unto Sir George Barnes yeer and a great part thereof, I doe acknowledge that I found no small humanitie and gentlenes, as me thought: but (to say the truth) that I doe esteeme above all other for true Christian kindnes which is shewed in Gods cause and done for his sake. Wherefore O Dobs, Dobs[6], alderman and knight, thou in thy yeere diddest winne my

[6] *O Dobs, Dobs.*] Thomas Lever, in a sermon preached before king Edward, in the year 1550, enlarges upon the distresses of the poor, and in conclusion, alluding to bishop Ridley, says, "These seelie soules have been neglected throughout all Englande, and especially in London and Westminster, but now I truste, that a good overseer (a godlie bishop, I meane) will see that they in these two cities, shall have their neede relieved, and their faultes corrected, to the good ensample of all other townes and cities." Signat. G 3. edit. 1572.

heart for evermore, for that honourable acte, that most blessed worke of God of the erection and setting up of Christs holy hospitalles, and truely religious houses, which by thee, and through thee were begunne. For thou like a man of God, when the matter was mooved for the reliefe of Christes poore seely members to bee holpen from extreame miserie, hunger and famine, thy heart, I say, was mooved with pity, and as Christes high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the citie, before whom thou brakest the matter for the poore: thou diddest pleade their cause, yea, and not onely in thine owne person thou diddest set forth Christes cause, but to further the matter thou broughtest me into the councell chamber of the citie before the aldermen alone, whom thou haddest assembled there together to heare me speake what I could say as an advocate by office and ducty in the poore mens cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common councell, and so to the whole body of the citie: by whome with an uniforme consent, it was committed to be drawne, ordered, and devised by a certaine number of the most wittie citizens and politique, endued also with godlinesse, and with readie hearts to set forward such a noble acte, as could be chosen in all the whole citie: and they like true and faithfull ministers both to their citie and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousandes of seely poore members of Christ, which else for extreame hunger and miserie should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen and brought up, and shall have cause to blesse the aldermen of that time, the common councell and the whole body of the city, but specially

cially thee O Dobbes, and those chosen men, by whom this honourable worke of God was begun and wrought, and that so long throughout all ages, as that godly worke shall endure: which I pray Almighty God may bee ever unto the worldes ende. Amen.

And thou O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other, thou wast in thy yeere not onely a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessour was well begunne; but also diddest labour so to have perfited the worke, that it should have beene an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godlinesse unto all christendome. Thine endevour was to have set uppe an house of occupations, both that all kind of poverty being able to worke, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their owne reliefe and to the profite and commoditie of the common wealth of the citie, and also to have retired thither the poore babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitalles aforesaide had beene cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to passe, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and of thy brethren, of that godly king Edward, that Christian and peerelesse princes hand, his princely place of Bridewell[7], and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endevor hath not had like successe, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the

[7] *Place of Bridewell.*] See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. ii. p. 425.

Lord

Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amende when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewell now all yee citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition so ever yee be. Undoubtedly in London yee have heard Gods word truely preached. My hearts desire and dayly prayer shal be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God, I am countable, that yee never swarve, neither for losse of life nor worldly goods, from Gods holy word, and yeeld unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreame displeasure of God, and the losse both of your bodies and soules into perpetuall damnation for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembring that for the space of king Edwards raigne, which was for the time of mine office in the seas of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the Parliament: Therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my lordes of the temporaltie farewell. They shall have no just cause (by Gods grace) to take it that I intende to say, in ill part. As for the spirituall prelacie that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeate againe a great part of that I have said before now already to the sea of London. To you therefore my lordes of the temporaltie will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked dayly when I should bee called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soule should be expired, and therefore knowe yee, that I had before

fore mine eyes onely the feare of God, and christian charitie towards you, which mooued me to write: for of you hereafter I looke not in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talke shall doe you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor if I displease you ye cannot hurt me or harme me, for I shal be out of your reach. Now therefore if you feare God, and can be content to hear the talke of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God and to do you good: harken what I say. I say unto you, as S. Paule saith to the Galatians, I wonder my lords what hath bewitched you, that yee so sodainely are fallen from Christ unto antichrist, from Christs gospel unto mans traditions, from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warne you of your perill: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your owne death. For if yee thinke thus: We are laie men; this is a matter of religion, we follow as wee are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amisse, the fault is in them, they shall beare the blame. My lords this is true (I grant you) that both the false teacher, and the corrupt governour, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whome they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea and his bloude shall be required at their hands: but yet nevertheles shall that subject die the death himself also; that is, hee shall also be damned for his owne sinne: for if the blind lead the blinde, Christ sayeth, not the leader onely, but he saith, both shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue, and the senate of the Jewes (trowe yee) which forsooke Christ and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Cayphas, with the Scribes and Pharasies and their Clergie did

did teach them amisse? yea and also Pilate their governour and the emperours lieutenaunt by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death? Forsooth no my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilates washing of his handes, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate: but at the lords hand, for the effusion of that innocent bloud, on the latter day all shall drinke of the deadly whippe. Ye are witty and understand what I meane: therefore I will passe over this, and returne to tell you how yee are fallen from Christ to his adversarie the bishop of Rome.

And least, my lords, ye may peradventure thinke, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christes adversary, or (to speake in plaine tearmes) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I doe raile: therefore, that your lordshippes may perceive my minde, and thereby understand that I speake the words of the truth and sobriety (as S. Paule said unto Festus) be it knowne unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I ensure your lordshippes (the living Lord beareth me witnesse, before whome I speake) I doe thinke many a good holy man, many martyrs and saintes of God have sitte and taught in that place Christs gospell truely, which therefore justly may be called *Apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the apostles, and also that church and congregation of christians to be a right apostolicke church; yea and that certain hundredth years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolicall doctrine taught by the mouthes of the apostles themselves. If yee will

know

know how long that was and how many hundreth yeares, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the yeares I will not be too bold, but thus I say: so long and so many hundreth yeares as that sea did truely teach and preach that gospell, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those lawes and rules which that sea received of the apostles, (and as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God; so long (I say) that sea might well have beene called Peter and Paules chaire and sea, or rather Christs chaire, and the bishoppe thereof *apostolicus*, or true disciple and successour of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

But since the time that that sea hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospell, hath set uppe an other religion, hath exercised an other power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange lawes, canons and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that sea hath thus beene changed, in truth it ought of dutie and of right to have the names changed both of the sea and of the sitter therein. For understand my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that sea and bishoppe thereof were called apostolicke; but for the true trade of Christs religion which was taught and maintained in that sea at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore as truely and justly as that sea then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinitie of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christes apostles,

apostles, was called apostolicke; so as truely and as justly for the contrarietie of religion, and diversitie of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that sea and the bishoppe thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed antichristian.

I know my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirite of grace and the light of Gods word, so many (I say) would at these my wordes lordlike stampe and spurne, and spitte thereat. But sober your selves with patience and be still, and knowe yee that in my writing of this, my minde was none other, but in God (as the living God doth beare mee witnes) both to do you profite and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shal come to your knowledge, I trust by Gods grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, (as S. John saith) the greatest of all: and then I shall not neede (I trowe) to feare what any lord, no nor what king or prince can doe unto me.

My lords, if in times past yee have beene contented to heare me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have saide (when as els if yee had perceived just occasion, yee might then have suspected me in my talke, though it had beene reasonable, either desire of worldly gaine, or feare of displeasure) how hath then your lordshippes more cause to hearken to my word and to heare me patientlie, seeing now yee cannot justly thinke of mee, being in this case appointed to die, and looking dayly when I shall be called to come before

fore the eternall judge, otherwise, but that I only studie to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am perswaded assuredly by Gods word shall and doth please him, and profite all them to whom God shall give grace to heare and beleeve what I doe say? And I doe say even that I have said heretofore both of the sea of Rome and of the bishoppe thereof, I meane after this their present state at this day, wherein if yee will not beleeve the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verely I denounce unto you *in verbo domini*, except yee doe repent betime, it shall turne to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say my lords, for Gods sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk and of my speaking thus, to the eternall judge (who will judge nothing amisse) so shall you be countable of your duetie in hearing, and you shal be charged, if yee wil not hearken to Gods word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew againe to be perswaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordships had bin perswaded indeed sufficiently, or that yee could ever have agreed so uniformely with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policie wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy saith now, and so saith the popes lawes indeed) standeth the unitie of the catholicke church, and a matter of necessitie of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the 8. and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and daunger before God then as it is now,

now, and be now (as it is said by the popes lawes, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocesse of Yorke) indeed a matter of necessitie to salvation: how then chanced it that yee were all (O my lords) so light, and so little passed upon the catholicke faith and the unitie thereof (without the which no man can be saved,) as for your princes pleasures which were but mortall men, to forsake the unitie of your catholicke faith, that is, to forsake Christ and his gospell? And furthermore, if it were both then and now is so necessarie to salvation, how chanced it also that yee, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not onely abolish and expell the bishoppe of Rome, but also did abjure him in your owne persons, and did decree in your actes great othes to be taken of both the spiritualitie and temporaltie, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the common wealth? But on the other side, if the lawe and decree, which maketh the supremacy of the sea and bishop of Rome over the universall church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law (as it is indeed) and such instructions as are given to the diocesse of Yorke, be indeede a setting forth of the power of that beast of Babylon, by the craft and falshood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared unto Gods word, and truely judged by the same, it shall plainely appeare that they be) then my lords never thinke other, but the day shall come when yee shall bee charged with this your undoing of that, that once yee had well done, and with this your perjurie and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgement, justice, and truth agreeable to Gods law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time daliy with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthie

stewes

stewes and whoredome (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *à pœna & culpa*) that for drunkennesse and blindnes yee may thinke your selves safe. But be yee assured, when the living Lord shall trie the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abhominations shall appeare what they be: then yee my lordes, (I give your lordships warning in time, repent if yee be happy, and love your owne soules health, repent I say, or els without al doubt, yee shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury and breach of your oath) as ye have banquetted in her abhominations: so shall yee drinke with her (except yee repent betime) of the cuppe of the Lords indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their abhomnations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be throwne with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare yee well my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to beleeve and embrace the truth. Amen.

Ridley now prepared himself [8] for his approaching death, which a sound judgment and a good conscience made him look upon as a matter of joy and triumph. He called it his marriage, and in the evening washed his beard and his legs, and behaved with as much ease and chearfulness as ever; at supper he invited Mrs. Irish to his mar-

[8] *Now prepared himself.*] The remaining part of this narrative is transcribed from the valuable Life of Bishop Ridley, written by Doctor Glocester Ridley, p. 662—673.

riage

riage the next morning. And wishing his sister to be there, he asked her husband whether she could find in her heart to be there or no? Mr. Shipside answered, he believed she would with all her heart. At which the bishop expressed great satisfaction. The discourse melted even the obdurate Mrs. Irish into tears, who had before made a merit and boasted of her severity towards him. On seeing her in tears, the good bishop comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither be content therewith. Indeed you be not so much a friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painfull, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet[a]."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But he would not suffer him, saying, that he minded (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly that night, as ever he did in his life.

(a) The particulars of the supper which he had the night before he suffered when this conversation passed, I find in a manuscript book of expences for Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer now in Bennet College Library, Cambridge. It shews at once their manner of living, and the price of provisions at that time.

	£.	s.	d.
Bread and ale - -	0	0	3
Shoulder of mutton	0	0	9
A pig - - - - -	0	0	11
A plover - - - -	0	0	4
Wine - - - -	0	0	1½
Cheese and pears -	0	0	2
	0	2	6½

Orders

Orders had been sent by the queen to lord Williams and the householders of Oxford to attend the next morning, sufficiently provided to prevent any tumult that might arise in favour of the prisoners, and obstruct their execution; who came accordingly to the place appointed; which unfortunately for the memory of bishop Brookes, was in a ditch over against Baliol College, of which he was master. An humane man, who felt for the miseries of others, had rather used his interest to have removed so shocking a spectacle out of view. But he was indulged in his savage pleasure, and every thing being in readiness, the mayor and bailiffs brought forth their prisoners.

First came bishop Ridley, dressed in a handsome black gown, furred, faced with points, such as he used to wear in his episcopal character; about his neck was a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, his head covered with a velvet night cap, and his square cap upon that, walking to the stake in a pair of slippers, between the mayor and one of the aldermen. As he passed toward Bocardo, Mr. Irishe's house being near that prison, he looked up to the chamber where the archbishop lay, in hope of seeing him at the window, and to have spoken to him: but Cranmer was at that time busily engaged in disputation with friar Soto and others, so that he happened not to be at the window at that time. Ridley then looked back to see if his brother Latimer were coming; whom he spied hasting after him in a Bristol freeze frock all worne, with his cap buttoned, an handkerchief on his head, and a new long shroud hanging down to his feet, all ready for the fire. O you be there, said Ridley; yes, returns Latimer, I come after as fast as I can follow. They preserved their distance in walking, and Ridley arriving first at the stake,

stake, there earnestly lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, till he saw, shortly after, Latimer descending to the spot: upon which, with a most chearful countenance, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and comforted him, saying, be of good heart brother, for God will either asswage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it. Then moving to the stake, he kneeled down and kissed it, prayd earnestly, as did Latimer likewise. Then rising, they conferred together a little while.

Dr. Smith, who had recanted in king Edward's time, was appointed to preach before them, who chose for his text these words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. 3. *Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* In which short sermon, which was scarce so long as a quarter of an hour, he gave the holy martyrs frequent occasion to lift up their hands and eyes to heaven as protesting against the falshood of his assertions. For, in stating the diversity of opinions concerning the sacrament of the altar, he mentioned only three among those whom he called hereticks: 1. Luther and his followers, who held that the natural body and blood of Christ was present together with the elements of bread and wine: 2. The opinion of Occolampadius, and his disciples, who held, that the natural body of Christ was not in the sacrament, but in heaven, yet by grace effectually received of the worthy communicants. 3. That of Zuinglius and his followers, who held that Christ's body was not present either naturally or spiritually in the sacrament, which was only a mere figure of his body. Of this last opinion, he said, were the two men who stood before them. In which representation he was twice mistaken; for neither were Ridley and Latimer, nor

nor Zuinglius himself, of the opinion with which he charges them. Ridley always believed and maintained a real presence by grace to faith, and not a mere figure only: and although there were some English fanaticks, such as John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Paske, who believed that the sacrament was only a bare sign of Christ's body, and nothing more than a remembrance of it: yet this was not the opinion of our martyrs, who, induced by the same authority, the word of God, held with Oecolampadius and Zuinglius too, if we may believe their own confession; for they say, "Although we distinguish, as we ought, betwixt the signs and the things thereby signified, yet we divide not the reality from the signs, but confess that all who by faith embrace the promises there made, do spiritually receive Christ with his spiritual gifts, and that they who were before made partakers of Christ, do continue and renew that communication."

The other frontless assertion was, "that the old church of Christ and the catholick faith believed far otherwise." If he meant otherwise than what he falsely charged Zuinglius and the martyrs, it was nothing to the purpose: if, that the manner of the presence defined by the church of Rome was always held by the primitive church, that contradicts all history, and even their own Tonstal, admits that before Innocent III. *the manner* was not defined.

When the sermon was finished, Ridley asked Latimer whether he would first answer it: but Latimer desiring Ridley to begin, then both of them kneeling down, Ridley addressing himself to the lord Williams, Dr. Marshall the vice chancellor and other commissioners appointed for that purpose, said, I beseech you my lord, even for

Christs sake, that I may speak but two or three words. And while the lord Williams was inclining his head to ask the mayor and vice chancellor whether he might permit him to speak, the vice chancellor and bailiffs ran up hastily to him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, your life. Not otherwise? said he. No, returned Dr. Marshall; therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy, but you must suffer for your deserts. "Well," replied the noble martyr, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth. God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, well, then I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all indifferently. Latimer added his wonted saying, Well there is nothing hid but it shall be opened. And withal signified, that he could answer Dr. Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Immediately they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Bishop Ridley taking off his gown and his tippet, gave them to his brother Shipside. Some part of his apparel that was little worth, he gave elsewhere, and some the bailiffs took.

He likewise gave away several other small things to gentlemen standing by; many of them were greatly affected, and weeping: as to sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat, and to my lord Williams's gentlemen, he gave to some napkins, to some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and other such things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points of his hose.

hose. Happy was he who might get any rag of him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off all his dress but his shrowd; in which he, who before in his old freeze coat and buttoned cap, seemed a withered and crooked old man, negligent of himself, now rouzed to play the man, stood bolt upright, and appeared a venerable comely person.

Dr. Ridley being stripped to his shirt and truss would have been burnt in them: but his brother Shipside prevailed on him to pull off the latter, as it would else encrease his pain, and might do a poor man good. Then standing at the stake upon a stone, lifting up his hands towards heaven he prayed, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thnaks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee Lord God, take mercy upon the realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." It was not long before the realm happily experienced, as it continues to do to this day, how much the effectual fervent prayer of this righteous man availed.

Next the smith took an iron chain, and brought it round the middles of both the martyrs, and as he was driving in the staple, Dr. Ridley shook the chain, and said to the smith, good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course. And now his brother brought him some gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck. The bishop asked what it was: and being informed, said, I take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any for my brother? meaning Latimer. And being answered in the affirmative, he bad him give it to him be-

time, lest it should be too late; which was done accordingly.

Then Dr. Ridley said to my lord Williams, "My lord, I must be a suitor to your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here, hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you thereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for them. Now I hear say the bishop who now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you my lord be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

We shall seldom meet with an instance, except in the great Exemplar, whose steps our blessed martyr followed, of one who in the very article of death, though sensible that his breakfast would be sharp, and the flesh ha· its course, yet was so regardless of his own sufferings, and so recollected for the good and happiness of others. Let the delicate, the selfish, and the uncharitable, read and wonder!

Then they brought a faggot ready kindled, and laid it at Dr. Ridleys feet: to whom Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by

by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

The fire being given to them, when Ridley saw it flaming up towards him, he cried with an exceeding loud voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. O Lord receive my spirit." Latimer on the other side as earnestly praying, "O Father of heaven receive my soul;" who received the flame as it were embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hand, he soon died, to appearance with little or no pain.

But on the other side the fire was so ill managed by piling too great a quantity of faggots over the furze, that the fire first burnt beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when Dr. Ridley felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. His brother hearing his earnest request, but not understanding well the reason of it, with an ill advised kindness to rid him out of his pain, heaped more faggots upon him, quite covering him with them: which made the fire smouldering beneath, so intense, that it burnt all his nether parts before it once touched the upper: this made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared too true: for after his legs were consumed, he shewed that side towards the spectators, clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon God, having still in his mouth, "Lord have mercie upon me;" intermingling between whiles, "Let the fire come to me, I cannot burn." Thus he continued crying out without relief, till one of the standers-by, with his bill pulled off the faggots above; and when the tortured martyr saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the flame touched the

the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side; and either from the chain loosing, or by the overpoise of his body after his legs were consumed, fell over the chain down at Latimers feet.

Thus died this worthy martyr of God, and the glory of the English Reformation; nor did he die in vain. The fruit of his prayers for this realm we now enjoy; and his constant sufferings as they drew tears from most eyes, so doubtless by the grace of God they wrought in the hearts of many a persuasion of the truth to which both these prelates bore so noble a testimony.

One of these we know, Julius Palmer, an ingenious young man, and fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford. He had been all through king Edward's reign a warm and zealous papist, and for his taunts against the governours of his college, and his unconformable behaviour was expelled the society, and lost his fellowship. He was persuaded that either vanity, or the baits of preferment had influenced the Reformers; affirming that should the times change, they would change too, and none of them would stand to death for their religion. He owned indeed, in confidence to another like zealous fellow of his own college, that they did not taste such an inward sweetness in the profession of their religion as the gospellers made a shew of; and that they had not a clear knowledge of their religion, only as the church had decreed: yet with a true papistical spirit resolved, that he would sooner beg his bread, than yield to the reformers. And though he was sometimes staggered in the conferences he had with some into whose company he fell during his expulsion, yet all through king Edwards reign, he continued determinedly blind. In queen Marys reign he was restored

restored to his fellowship; and though surprized, that the Reformers submitted so patiently to the loss of their preferments, he doubted not, as Gardiner also had declared, but that severities would reclaim them. He therefore made their suffering death voluntarily the test of their faith. For this reason he sent at his own expence some of his pupils to Gloucester, to observe and report to him the manner of bishop Hoopers death. He was still willing to believe that either the report was exaggerated, or that some enthusiastick heat had impelled him to bear his torments with such constancy. But here he was himself the spectator and jealous observer: he had attended the martyrs examination, and been a witness of the sobriety of his answers, and with what greatness of mind he had disdained the offers of life, honours, preferments, and the favour of the queen, rather than sacrifice the truth, and deny his faith. He now saw him lay down his life in testimony that what he taught he believed. Not borne up with a spirit of pride or madness, but with meekness, charity, and resolution: not with an enthusiastick callousness and insensibility of pain, but with a cool choice persisting to endure those severe tortures which his flesh knew not well how to bear, and from which he had the liberty of escaping if he would only sign a recantation. Perhaps for the conviction of such unbelievers God permitted his death to be so lingering and acute. Palmer rose a convert from this blood of the martyrs, and went away publickly exclaiming against the tyranny and cruelty of his old allies. And having suffered loss of fortune for his intemperate zeal in popery under king Edward, was now so convinced of his error as boldly to suffer martyrdom for protestantism under queen Mary.

Yet

Yet the severity of Ridleys sufferings, which wrought so powerfully on the ingenuous mind of Palmer, were not judged sufficient to satisfy the malice of another of his spectators, who seems to grudge him the benefit of his gunpowder. This was Dorman (or Pierson) who was fellow of another college in Oxford, who speaking of the gunpowder applied to put them the sooner out of their pain, says, "A practice among Christs martyrs, never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to dispatch themselves, as with mine own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned." Observing in the margin, "That it agreed not with the martyrdom of Polycarp!" O Dorman, could you recall that dreadfull sight to your memory, and speak of it with such a spirit of inhumanity? You saw his agonies, your ears were pierced with his repeated cries, your eyes were feasted with looking on his limbs consumed piecemeal before his vital parts were touched, and all was not enough to satiate your thirst for blood. Had the gunpowder, which was so long before it had any effect on Ridley, dispatched him as soon as it did Latimer, who but a ruffian could have grudged him that relief? And Noel, in a reply to Dorman, takes notice that Ignatius said he would provoke and anger the beasts, to whom he was to be cast to be devoured, that they might the more speedily tear him in pieces. And asks, why may not the heat of fire be provoked as well as the fury of beasts? And Dorman might have remembered, that when Polycarp was burned, his persecutors, seeing that the fire came not near enough to destroy him, with more compassion than this popish spectator had, put an end to his sufferings by piercing him with a sword.

Others wedded to the world, may perhaps think the sufferings of these martyrs were a prodigality

of life; and that whatsoever they privately thought, the subscription of their hands to doctrines contrary to that belief, and an outward profession of them had been far more prudent: and that therefore Gardiner was the wiser man, who by returning to the pope, whom he had abjured, kept his preferments, preserved his life, and escaped tortures. Few of us have faith enough to take our Saviours advice, *Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do: but I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell: yea, I say unto you, fear him.* Luke xii. 4, 5. But an event immediately connected with this execution may help our unbelief, and convince us of the wisdom of our Saviours advice.

Dr. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, in the midst of all his splendor, secure in the favour of the pope and his royal mistress, and having in view a cardinals hat and legatine power from the one, and the throne of Canterbury from the other, triumphed over the weakness of the two martyrs at Oxford, for whose deaths he was impatient. His dignity and employment would not permit him to be a spectator and enjoy the sight; but what he could he did: he dispatched messengers on purpose to Oxford to be present at their execution, and to speed back to give him the earliest intelligence when the fire was set to them. And though the duke of Norfolk was his guest that day, he would not go to dinner till the return of the messenger had given him the satisfaction he so hungered after. At four o'clock the wretch was made happy and went to dinner: *he was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth, the heavy wrath of God came upon him.* He was seized with

with a suppression of urine, and though he went five days after to the parliament, which met October 21st, and again on the 23d, he could go out no more. A foul leprosy and dropsy encreased upon him, contracted (as was reported) by drunkenness, or whoredom, both which vices he had indulged much in his life: so that his body was greatly distended, his eyes distorted, and his breath too offensive to be endured. He felt all the bitter remorse of conscience, without being able to mingle with it that salutary sorrow which can alone make it supportable. "I have erred," says he, "with Peter, but I have not wept with him." The bishop of Chichester visiting him, would have comforted him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ. Gardiner acknowledged the truth in private, and thereby assented to the Reformers, but desired him politically to suppress it, saying, "he might speak of that to him or others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell altogether." He suffered this protracted execution for four weeks, during which, as one wrote out of England at that time, "he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and inexpressible torments." He was called to his account that very day month that Ridley and Latimer suffered, at two o'clock in the morning, November 13. Compare the lives of Ridley and Gardiner together, and compare their deaths; whose character was most amiable, whose conduct most prudent, whose condition most eligible? Let us cultivate those truths in our hearts and lives which had such supernatural power as to administer comfort in the midst of burning flames. What afflictions are there in this world, that a practical

practical belief in those truths will not enable us to bear up under them? Let us not think that those errors can be even politically useful, or in this present world prudent, which can give no ease upon beds of down, amidst the pomp of power, and affluence of wealth. What a blessing did these martyrs recover to their country, when they restored to it the knowledge of these primitive truths! What a glorious legacy did they bequeath to it when at their deaths, *they lit up such a candle in England, as by Gods grace shall never be put out!*

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

This great Man's fall shall ever be my lesson: and if this glistering jewel were thus clouded and foiled, *God be merciful to me a Sinner.*

ANON.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

AS concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memorie, Thomas Cranmer late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the originall cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopall dignitie, who of many hath been thought to have procured the same by friendship only, and of some other esteemed unworthy of so high a vocation: It is first therefore to bee noted and considered, that the same Thomas Cranmer comming of an ancient parentage, from the conquest to bee deducted, and continuing sithence in the name and familie of a gentleman, was born [1] in a village called Arselacton

[1] *Was born.*] The second day of July, in the year 1489, was the day of his birth. Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 1, "Our youth (says the same historian) was put to learn his grammar of a rude parish-clerk in that babarous age. Under whom he learned little, and endured much from the harsh and curst disposition of his school-master. Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not he should be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises; insomuch that he used himself to shoot; and many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses; so that when he was a bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely; as otherwise at all times there was not any in his house that would become an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for

ton in Nottingham shire, of whose said name and familie there remaineth at these daies one manour and mansion house in Lincolne shire, called Cranmer hall, sometimes of heritage of the said stocke and familie. Who being from his infancie kept at schoole, and brought up not without much good civilitie, came in processe of time unto the universitie of Cambridge, and there prospering in right good knowledge, amongst the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus college, in Cambridge. And so being maister of art, and fellow of the same college, it chanced him to mary a gentlemans daughter: by meanes whereof hee lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham college: and for that hee would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, placed his said wife in an inne, called the Dolphin in Cambridge, the wife of the house being of affinitie unto hir. By reason whereof, and for his often resort unto his wife in that inne, hee was much marked of some popish marchants: whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report

for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was pore-blind.

But to return to his younger days. He lost his father early; but his mother, at the age of fourteen years, anno 1503, sent him to study at Cambridge; where he was nursled in the grossest kind of sophistry, logick, philosophy moral and natural, not in the text of the old philosophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles of Duns, and other subtile questionists; and in these he lost his time, till he came to two-and-twenty years of age. After that, he gave himself to the reading of Faber, Erasmus, good Latin authors, four or five years together, unto the time that Luther began to write. And then considering what great controversy was in matters of religion, not only in trifles, but in the chiefest articles of our salvation, he bent himself to try out the truth herein." Life of Cranmer, p. 2. Compare Fox's Latin edition, p. 708, &c.

against

against him, after he was preferred to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certaine malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, bruting abroad every where, that he was but an hostler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practises in that behalfe shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the meane time to returne to the matter present. Whilest this said maister Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham college, his wife died in childbed. After whose death, the maister and fellowes of Jesus college desirous againe of their old companion, namelie for his towardnesse in learning, chose him againe fellow of the same college. Where he remaining at his studie, became in fewe yeares after, the reader of divinitie lecture in the same college, and in such speciall estimation and reputation with the whole universitie, that being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the chiefest learned men) to examine such as yearely professe in commencement, either bachelers, or doctors of divinitie, by whose approbation the whole universitie licenseth them to proceed unto their degree: and againe by whose disallowance the universitie also rejecteth them for a time to proceed, until they be better furnished with more knowledge.

Now D. Cranmer ever much favouring the knowledge of the scripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially seene in the storie of the bible: by meanes wherof certaine friers, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of schoole authors, without regard had to the authoritie of scriptures, were commonly rejected by him, so

that he was for that his severe examination of the religious sort, much hated, and had in great indignation: and yet it came to passe in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to study the scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and wel affected, in so much, that when they proceeded doctors of divinitie, they could not overmuch extoll and commend M. Dr. Crannmers goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom D. Barret a white frier, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was after that sort handled, giving him no lesse commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeate, that our popish sort of ignorant priests may well understand that this his exercise, kinde of life, and vocation, was not altogither hostler like.

Well, to go forwards: like as he was neither in fame unknowne, nor in knowledge obscure, so was hee greatly solicited by doctor Capon, to have been one of the fellowes in the foundation of Cardinall Wolseis college in Oxford (which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation.) Notwithstanding foreseeing that which after chaunced, to the utter confusion of many well affected learned men [2], there, without consideration (because mans glorie was there more sought for, than Gods) he stood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more prosperously unto him within fewe yeares after than he looked for. For whiles he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and waighty

[2] *Well-affected learned men.*] "All these (as Strype tells us, after naming several of them) were cast into prison, for suspicion of heresy: and divers through the hardships thereof died; so that well it was for Cranmer that he went not. Life of Cranmer, p. 3.

cause

cause of king Henry the viii. his divorce with the lady Katherine dowager of Spain, came into question, which being many waies by the space of two or three yeres amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men diversly disputed and debated, it came to passe that this said doctor Cranmer, by reason that the plague was in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham Abbey, to one M. Cresseys house there, whose wife was of kinne to the saide M. Cranmer. And for that he had two sonnes of the said Cressey with him at Cambridge as his pupilles, he rested at Waltham Crosse, at the house of the said maister Cressey, with the said two children, during that summer time, whiles the plague reigned.

In this summer time cardinall Campeius and cardinall Wolsey, being in commiſſion from the pope, to heare and determine that great cause in controversie betweene the king and the queene his pretended wife, dalied and delayed all the sommer time untill the moneth of August came in, hearing the said cause in controversie debated. When August was come, the said cardinals little minded to proceed to sentence giving, tooke occasion to finish their commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending not to bee permitted by the lawes to keepe courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time; which sodain stay and giving over of the said commission by both cardinalls, being unknowne to the king, it so much mooved him, that he taking it as a mock at the cardinalles hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to dispatche forthwith cardinall Campeius home againe to Rome, and so in haste remooved himself from London to Waltham, for a night or twaine whiles his householde remooved to Greenewich: by meanes whereof it chanced that the har-

bengers lodged doctor Stephens Secretary, and D. Foxe Almosiner (who were the chief furtherers, preferrers, and defendors on the kings behalfe of the said cause) in the house of the said M. Cressey, where the said doctor Cranmer was also lodged and resident. When supper time came, they all three doctors met togither, doctor Stephens and doctor Foxe much marvelling of D. Cranmers being there. Who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almosiner right well entertained D. Cranmer, minding to understand part of his opinion touching their great businesse they had in hand. And so as good occasion served, whiles they were at supper, they conferd with doctor Cranmer concerning the kings cause, requesting him of his judgement and opinion what he thought therein.

Wherefore D. Cranmer answered, that he could say little to the matter, for that hee had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding hee said to them, that in his opinion they made more adoe in prosecuting the law ecclesiasticall, than needed. "It were better as I suppose," quoth D. Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brothers wife or no, were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authoritie of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might bee better satisfied and quieted, than thus from yeare to yeare by frustratorie delaies to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unboulted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the scripture will soon declare, make open and manifest, being by learned men well handled; and that may bee aswell done in England in the universities here, as at Rome or elsewhere

elsewhere in any forain nation, the authority whereof will compell any judge soone to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore as I take it, you might this way have made an ende of this matter long sithens." When D. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his devise [3], and wished that they had so proceeded afore time, and thereupon conceived some matter of that devise to instruct the king withall, who then was minded to send to Rome againe for a new commission.

Now, the next day when the king removed to Greenwich, like as hee tooke himselfe not well handled by the cardinalls in thus deferring his cause, so his minde being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious sute, he called to him these his two principall doers in his said cause, namely the said D. Stephens and D. Foxe, saying unto them, "What now my maisters," (quoth the king) "shall we doe in this infinite cause of mine? I see by it there must bee a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I."

When the king had said somewhat his mind herein, the almosiner D. Fox said unto the king againe, "Wee trust that there shall be better waies devised for your majestie, then to make travell so

[3] *His devise.*] Collier, in his ecclesiastical history, vol. ii. p. 52, and Fiddes in the Life of Wolsey, p. 444, assign very strong reasons against the possibility of Cranmer's being the first to suggest the expedient of resorting to the universities for a solution of the grand question in the divorce. The universities in fact, had been consulted on that point, before the date of this interview at Waltham, and Wolsey, it seems, was the first adviser of that measure. It is further worthy of remark, that the writer of the Life of Bishop Fisher (who calls himself Thomas Bailey, D. D.) affirms that the article opened and maintained by Cranmer at this meeting with the courtiers was that of *the King's Supremacy*, p. 96, &c. edit. 3.

farre

farre as to Rome any more in your highnesse cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at Waltham." The king beeing very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceede in our said cause?" Then said D. Fox, "It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham in M. Cresseis house this other night, your highnes being there, where wee met with an olde acquaintance of ours, named D. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highnes cause, hee thought that the next way were, first to instruct and quiet your majesties conscience by trying your highnesse question out by the authoritie of the word of God, and thereupon to proceede to a finall sentence." With this report the Secretarie was not content with the almosiner, for that hee did not utter this devise as of their owne invention. And when the secretarie would have seemed by colourable wordes to make it appeare to the king, that they of themselves had devised that meanes: the king then said, "where is that Doctor Cranmer; is hee still at Waltham?" They answered that they left him there. "Mary," said the king, "I wil surely speake with him, and therfore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive quoth the king, that that man hath the sow by the right eare. And if I had knowne this devise but two yeare ago, it had been in my waie a great peece of money, and had also ridde mee out of much disquietnesse."

Whereupon doctor Cranmer was sent for, and beeing removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottingham shire, a poste went for him. But when hee came to London, he began to quarrell with these two his acquaintances, that he by their meanes was thus troubled,

lled, and brought thither to be cumbred in a matter wherein he had nothing at all travelled in studie, and therefore most instantly intreated them, that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might bee dispatched away from comming in the kings presence. They promised and tooke the matter upon them so to doe, if by any meanes they might compasse it. But all was in vaine; for the more they began to excuse doctor Cranmers absence, the more the king chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence, so that no excuse serving he was faine undelaiedly to come to the court unto the king, whom the gentle prince benignely accepting, demanded his name, and said unto him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretarie and my almosiner?" Doctor Cranmer affirming the same, the king said againe: "Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question after this sort," repeating the maner and order thereof. "That is right true, if it please your highnesse," quoth doctor Cranmer, "Well," said the king, "I wel perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand" (quoth the king) "that I have beene long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this meanes I might have beene long agoe relieved one way or other from the same, if wee had this way proceeded. And therefore maister doctour, I pray you, and neverthelesse because you are a subject, I charge and commaund you (all your other businesse and affaires set apart) to take some paines to see this my cause to be furthered according to your devise, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seeke not to be divorced

vorced from the queene, if by any meanes I might justly be perswaded that this our matrimonie were inviolable, and not against the lawes of God: for otherwise there was never cause to move mee to seeke any such extreamitie. Neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the queene is, nor I never fansied woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen: assuring you that for the singular vertues wherewith she is indued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almightie God." And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you with an indifferent eie, and with as much dexteritie as lieth in you, that you for your part doe handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

Doctor Cranmer much disabling himselfe to meddle in so weightie a matter, besought the kings highnesse to commit the triall and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford." "You say well," said the king, "and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your minde therein." And so calling the earle of Wiltshire to him, said, "I pray you, my lord, let doctor Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplishe my request, and let him lacke neither bookes, ne any thing requisite for his studie." And thus after the kings departure, doctor Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire unto his house, where he incontinent wrote his mind concerning the kings question: adding to the same,

same, besides the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall councells, and of auncient writers, also his opinion which was this, *That the bishop of Rome had no such authoritie, as whereby he might dispense with the word of* GOD *and the scripture.* When doctor Cranmer had made this booke, and committed it to the king, the king said to him, "Will you abide by this, that you have here written, before the bishop of Rome?" "That will I doe, by God's grace," quoth doctor Cranmer, "if your majesty do send me thither." "Mary," quoth the king, "I will send you even to him in a sure ambassage."

And thus by meanes of doctor Cranmers handling of this matter with the king, not only certaine learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in christendome, to dispute the question, but also the same beeing by commission disputed by the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded that no such matrimonie was by the worde of God lawfull.

Whereupon a solemne ambassage was then prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome, then beeing at Bononie, wherein went the earle of Wiltshire, doctour Cranmer, doctour Stokesly, doctour Carne, doctor Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

And when the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop sitting on high in his cloth of estate, and in his rich apparell, with his sandales on his feete, offering as it were, his foote to be kissed of the ambassadours[4], the earle of Wiltshire

[4] *Foote to be kissed.*] Bishop Tonstall, in his famous sermon against the Pope's supremacy, preached before king Henry,

shire disdaining thereat, stoode still, and made no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry.

Howbeit, one thing is not here to be omitted, as a prognosticate of our separation from the see of Rome, which then chaunced by a spaniell of the earle of Wiltshire. For he having there a great spaniell which came out of England with him, stoode directly between the earle and the bishop of Rome.

When the said bishop had advaunced forth his foote to be kissed, now whether the spaniell perceived the bishops foote of another nature than it ought to bee, and so taking it to be some kinde of repast, or whether it was the will of God to shew some token by a dogge unto the bishop of this inordinate pride, that his feete were more meete to be bitten of dogges, than kissed of christian men: the spaniell (I say) when the bishop extended his foote to bee kist, no man regarding the same, straightway (as though hee had beene of purpose appointed thereunto) went directly to the popes feet, and not only kissed the same unmanerly, but as some plainely reported

Henry, on Palm Sunday 1539, says, "Christ offered his fete being bare to be washed with tears and kyssed, as appereth by the gospel of Luke—but the byshop of Rome offreth his fete to be kyssed, shod with his shoes on: *for I saw myself, being then present thirty-four yere ago*, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stode on his fete, and one of his chamberlaynes held up his skirte, because it stode not, as he thought, with his dignitie, that he shulde do it hym selfe, that his shoe myght appere, whiles a noble manne of greate age dyd prostrate hym selfe upon the grounde and kyssed his shoe: which he stately suffered to be done, as of duetie; where me thynke I saw Cornelius the Centurion, subraittyng him selfe to Peter, and much honouryng hym; but I sawe not Peter there to take hym up, and to byd hym ryse, saying, *I am a man as thou arte*, as saynte Peter dyd saye to Cornelius." Signat. B 8. C. 1. printed by Barthelet. 1539.

and affirmed, tooke fast with his mouth the great toe of the pope, so that in haste he pulled in his glorious feet from the spaniel. Wherat our men smiling in their sleeves, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine, the pontificall bishop, after that, sought no more at that present for kissing his feet, but without any further ceremonie gave eare to the ambassadours what they had to say.

Who entring there before the bishop, offered on the kings behalfe to be defended, that no man *Jure divino*, could or ought to marrie his brothers wife, and that the bishop of Rome by no meanes ought to dispense to the contrarie. Divers promises were made, and sundry daies appointed, wherein the question should have beene disputed; and when our part was readie to aunswere, no man there appeared, to dispute in that behalfe. So in the ende, the bishop making to our ambassadours good countenance, and gratifying doctor Cranmer with the office of the penitentiariship, dismissed them undisputed withall.

Whereupon the earle of Wiltshire, and the other commissioners, saving doctor Cranmer, returned home againe into England. And forthwith doctor Cranmer went to the emperour, being in his journey towards Vienna, in expedition against the Turke, there to answere such learned men of the emperours councell, as would or could say any thing to the contrarie part. Where amongst the rest, at the same time was Cornelius Agrippa, an high officer in the emperours court, who having private conference with doctour Cranmer in the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never disputation openly offered to doctor Cranmer in that behalfe. For through the perswasion of Agrippa, all other learned men there were much discouraged: insomuch,

much, that after doctor Cranmer was returned into England, Agrippa fell into such displeasure with the emperour, as some men thought, that because of the hindering and discouraging so much the contrarie part, he was committed to prison, where he for sorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the meane space, while the emperour returned home from Vienna thorow Germany, doctor Cranmer in that voyage had conference with divers learned men of Germanie concerning the said question, who verie ambiguouslie heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully resolved and satisfied by him.

This matter thus prospering on doctour Cranmers behalfe, aswel touching the kings question, as concerning the invaliditie of the bishop of Romes authoritie, bishop Warham, then archbishop of Canturburie, departed this transitorie life, whereby that dignitie then being in the kings gift and disposition, was immedialtly given to D. Cranmer[5] as worthy for his travell, of such a promotion.

Thus much touching the preferment of doctor Cranmer unto his dignitie, and by what meanes hee atchieved unto the same: not by flatterie, not by bribes, nor by none other unlawfull meanes: which thing I have more at large discoursed, to stop the railing mouthes of such, who being themselves obscure and unlearned, shame not to detract so learned a man most ignominiously with the surname of an hostler, whom for his godly zeale unto sincere religion, they ought with much humilitie to have had in regard and reputation.

Now, as concerning his behavior and trade of life towards God and the world, beeing now entred

[5] *Given to Doctor Cranmer.*] Warham died Aug. 23, 1532, and Cranmer was consecrated March 30, 1533. Le Neve's *Fasti*. P. 8.

into

into his said dignitie; and forsomuch as the apostle S. Paul writing to two bishops, Timothie and Titus, setteth out unto us a perfect description of a true bishop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto the which exemplare it shall bee hard in these strange daies to find the image of any bishop correspondent: yet for example sake let us take this archbishop of Canturburie, and trie him by the rule therof, to see either how neere he commeth to the description of S. Paul, or else how farre off he swarveth from the common course of other in his time, of his calling. The rule of S. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. iii. also in his epistle to Titus, chap. i. in these words:

A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God. Not stubborne, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre: but harborous, one that loveth goodnes, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true world and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

Unto this rule and touchstone, to lay now the life and conversation of this archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written, *A bishop must bee faultless, as becommeth the minister of God.* Like as no man is without sinne, and everie man carieth with him his especiall vice and fault; so yet neverthelesse, the apostle meaneth, that the bishop and minister must be faultles, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seeme more licentiouslie to live at their own liberties and pleasures, then the bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard unto good example giving: which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, least by his dissolute

solute life, the word of God be slandered and evill spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himselfe to continuall studie, not breaking that order that he in the universitie commonly used; that is, by five of the clocke in the morning at his booke, and so consuming the time in studie and praier untill nine of the clocke, he then applied himselfe (if the princes affaires did not call him away) untill dinner time to heare suters, and to dispatch such matters as appertained unto his speciall cure and charge, committing his temporall affaires both of his houshold and other forraine businesse, unto his officers. So that such things were never impediments neither to his studie, nor to his pastorall charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part alwaies being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting and boulting out of one matter or other, for the commoditie and profit of the church of England. By meanes wherof, and what for his private studie, he was never idle: besides that, hee accounted it no idle point to bestowe one houre or twaine of the day in reading over such works and bookes as daily came from beyond the seas.

After dinner, if any suters were attendant, hee would very diligently heare them, and dispatch them in such sort as everie man commended his lenitie and gentlenesse, although the case required that some whiles divers of them were commited by him to prison. And having no suters after dinner, for an houre or thereabout, hee would play at the chesse, or behold such as could play. That done, then againe to his ordinarie studie, at the which commonly, he for the most part stood, and seldom sate:

sate: and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that houre in hearing the common praier, and walking or using some honest pastime untill supper time. At supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup) yet would hee sit downe at the table, having his ordinarie provision of his messe furnished with expedient company, hee wearing on his hands his gloves, because hee would (as it were) thereby weane himselfe from eating of meate, but yet keeping the company with such fruitfull talke as did repast and much delight the hearers: so that by this meanes hospitalitie was well furnished, and the almes chest well maintained for reliefe of the poore. After supper hee would consume one houre at the least, in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then againe untill nine of the clocke, at one kinde of studie or other. So that no houre of the day was spent in vaine, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glorie of God, the service of the prince, or the commoditie of the church. Which his well bestowing of his time, procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other mens conversation faultlesse, as it became the minister of God.

That a Bishop ought not to be stubborne.

Secondly, it is required, *That a bishop ought not to bee stubborne.* With which kind of vice, without great wrong this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged: whose nature was such, as none more gentle, or sooner wonne to any honest sute or purpose; specially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratifie either any gentle or noble man, or doe good to any meane person, or else relieve the needie

and

and poore. Onely in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be wonne: as in that part his earnest defence in the parliament house above three daies togither, in disputing against the sixe articles of Gardiners device, can testifie. And though the king would needs have them upon some politicke consideration to go forward, yet he so handled himselfe aswel in the parliament house, as afterwards by writing, so obediently and with such humble behaviour in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty Gods, who was the author of all trueth, that the king did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the parliament house, into the councell chamber, whilest the acte should passe and bee granted, for safegard of his conscience: which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his majestie in processe of time would revoke them againe) but also after the parliament was finished, the king perceiving the zealous affection that the archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which many waies by scriptures and manifold authorities and reasons hee had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth: where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the kings pleasure, that they all should in his highnesse behalfe, cherish, comfort and animate him, as one that for his travell in that parliament, had shewed himselfe both greatly learned, and also discreete and wise; and therfore they willed him not to bee discouraged for any thing that was passed contrarie to his allegations. Hee most humbly thanked the kings majestie of his great goodnesse towards him,

and

and them for all their paines, saying, "I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shal take place, to the glorie of God and the commoditie of the realme; in the meane time I will satisfie my selfe with the honorable consent of your honours, and the whole parliament."

Here is to be noted, that this mans stout and godly defence of the truth herein, so bound the princes conscience, that hee would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authoritie and power: and therefore this way God working in the princes mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said sixe articles, as it ought to have beene, for else the prince might have had a just cause to have borne his great indignation towardes the archbishop. Let us pray that both the like stoutnesse may be perceived in all ecclesiasticall and learned men where the truth ought to be defended, and also the like relenting and flexibilitie may take place in princes and noble men, when they shall have occasion offered them to maintaine the same, so that they utterly overwhelme not the truth by selfe will, power and authoritie. Now in the ende this archbishops constancie was such towards Gods cause, that hee confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without respect of any worldly treasure or pleasure. And as touching his stoutnesse in his princes cause, the contrarie resistance[6] of the duke of

[6] *The contrarie resistance.*] Ridley in his Lamentation of the state of England, referring to Cranmer and himself, says, "I have heard that Cranmer and another, whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainely and fully in the duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but specially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late *spoile of the church*

of Northumberland against him proved right well his good minde that waie: which chanced by reason that hee would not consent to the dissolving of chanteries, until the King came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his royall estate, then to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage. Which his stoutnes joined with such simplicitie, surely was thought to divers of the councel, a thing incredible, specially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realme, as few or none would or durst gainstand him.

So deare was to him the cause of God, and of his prince, that for the one he would not keepe his conscience clogged, nor for the other lurke or hide his head. Otherwise (as it is said) his verie enemies might easily intreat him in any cause reasonable: and such things as hee granted, hee did without any suspicion of rebraiding or meede therefore: So that hee was altogither voide of the vice of stubbornnes, and rather culpable of over much facilitie and gentlenesse.

Not angry.

Then followeth, *Not angry.* Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this man may seeme peradventure to offend rather on this part then on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot say, for the most part, such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our saviour Christ so much prevailed as with him,

church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law, or order of justice, and without any request, or consent of them, to whom they did belong." Fox's *Acts*. p. 1616. Concerning the dissolution of the chantries, see Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. ii. p. 63—65, 135. Fuller's *Hist. of Abbeys*, p. 349—355.

who

who would not onely have a man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them: that lesson never went out of his memorie. For it was known that he had many cruell enemies, not for his own deserts, but onely for his religion sake: and yet whatsoever hee was that either sought his hinderance, either in goods, estimation, or life, and upon conference would seeme never so slenderly any thing to relent or excuse himselfe, hee would both forget the offence committed, and also evermore afterwards friendly entertaine him, and shew such pleasure to him, as by any meanes possible he might performe or declare: Insomuch that it came into a common proverbe[7], *Doe unto my L. of Canturbury displeasure or a shrewd turne, and then you may bee sure to have him your friend whiles he liveth.* Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revengement, amongst many examples therof, I will repeat here one.

[7] *A common proverbe.*] Morice the archbishop's secretary, among other particulars respecting his master, communicated by him to archbishop Parker, observes, "As concerning his own regard towards slanders and reproach by any man to him imputed or impinged, such as intirely knew him can testify, that very little he regarded the bruit thereof; because he altogether travailed evermore from giving of just occasion of detraction. *Whereupon grew and proceeded* that notable quality or vertue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. On a time, I do remember that Dr. Hethe, late archbishop of York, partly misliking this his over much lenity, by him used, said unto him 'My lord, I now know how to win all things at your hand well enough.' "How so," quoth my lord? "Marry," saith Dr. Hethe, "I perceive, that I must first attempt to do unto you some notable displeasure; and then by a little relenting obtain of you what I can desire." Whereat my lord bit his lip, as his manner was, when he was moved, and said, "You say well: but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having some consideration so to do, I may not alter my mind, and accustomed condition, as some would have me to do." Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 429.

It chanced an ignorant priest and parson in the north parties, the towne is not now in remembrance, but hee was a kinsman of one Chersey a grocer, dwelling within London (being one of those priestes that use more to studie at the alehouse, then in his chamber or in his studie) to sit on a time with his honest neighbors at the alehouse within his own parish, where was communication ministered in commendation of my lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canturbury. This said parson envying his name onely for religion sake, said to his neighbors: "what make you of him quoth he, hee was but an hostler, and hath no more learning then the goselings that go yonder on the greene," with such like slandrous and uncomly words. These honest neighbours of his not well bearing those his unseemely words, articled against him, and sent their complaint to the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, who sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recant those his slanderous words, at Paules crosse. Howbeit the lord Cromwell having great affaires of the prince then in hand, forgat his prisoner in the Fleet. So that this Chersey the grocer, understanding that his kinsman was in durance in the Fleet, only for speaking words against my L. of Canterbury, consulted with the priest, and between them devised to make sute rather unto the archbishop for his deliverance, then to the L. Cromwell, before whom hee was accused: understanding right well that there was great diversity of natures betweene those two estates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other severe and somewhat intractable, namely against a papist. So that Chersey took upon him first to try my lord of Canterbury's benignity, namely for that his cosins accusation touched onely the offence against him.

and

and none other. Wherupon the saide Chersey came to one of the archbishop's gentlemen, (whose father bought yearely all his spices and fruit of the said Chersey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman) who opening to him the trouble wherein his kinsman was, requested that he would be a meanes to my lord his maister, to heare his sute in the behalfe of his kinsman.

The matter was mooved. The archbishop, like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemencie, so would he never shewe himselfe strange unto suters, but incontinently sent for the said Chersey. When hee came before him, Chersey declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleete, a priest of the north countrey, "and as I may tell your grace the truth" (quoth Chersey) "a man of small civilitie and of lesse learning. And yet he hath a parsonage there, which now (by reason that my lord Cromwell hath laid him in prison) being in his cure is unserved, and he hath continued in durance above two monethes, and is called to no answere, and knoweth not when he shall come to any ende, so that this his imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undoe him, unlesse your grace be his good lord." "I knowe not the man" (said the archbishop) "nor what he hath done why he should be thus in trouble."

Said Chersey againe, "hee onely hath offended against your grace, and against no man else, as may well be perceived by the articles objected against him," the copie wherof the said Chersey then exhibited unto the said archbishop of Canterbury. Who wel perusing the said articles, said, "This is the common talk of all the ignorant papistical priests in England against me. Surely, said he, I was never made privy unto this accusation, nor of his indurance I never heard before this

this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withall against the prince or any of the councel, I will at your request take order with him, and send him home againe to his cure to doe his duetie:" and so therupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper at afternoone.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the houre appointed, and Chersey had wel instructed his cousin in any wise to submit himselfe unto the archbishop, confessing his faulte, where by that way he should most easily have an end and win his favour: thus the parson being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there sitting under the vine, the archbishop demanded of the parson what was the cause of his indurance, and who committed him to the Fleete? The parson answered and said, that the lord Cromwel sent him thither, for that certaine malitious parishioners of his parish, had wrongfully accused him of words which hee never spake nor meant. Chersey hearing his foolish cousin so farre out of the way from his former instruction, said, "Thou dastardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promise that thou madest to me? Is there not a great number of thy honest neighbors hands against thee, to proove thee a lyer?" "Surely my lord" (quoth Chersey) "it is pitie to do him good. I am sorie that I have troubled your Grace thus far with him."

"Wel, said the archbishop unto the parson, if you have not offended me, I can doe you no good, for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my lord Cromwel hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend, and not in me. If your offence only toucheth me, I wil be bold to do somwhat for your friends sake heere. If you have not offended

offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came." Lord what ado his kinsman Chersey made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names. In the end my lord of Canturbury seeming to rise and go his waies, the fond priest fel on his knees, and said, "I beseech your grace to forgive me this offence; assuring your grace that I spake those words being drunk, and not well advised." "Ah, said my lord, this is somwhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkennesse evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in heart of man when he is sober," alledging a text or twain out of the scriptures concerning the vice of drunkennesse, which commeth not now to remembrance.

"Now therfore" (said the archbishop) "that you acknowledge somewhat your faulte, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobrietie. Tell me then (quoth he) did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day?" The priest answered and said, that never in his life he saw his grace. "Why then" (said the archbishop) "what occasion had you to call me an hostler: and that I had not so much learning as the goselings, which then went on the greene before your face? If I have no learning you may now trie it, and be out of doubt thereof: therfore I pray you appose me, either in grammar or in other liberal sciences, for I have at one time or other tasted partly of them. Or else if you are a divine, say somewhat that waie."

The priest being amazed at my lords familiar talke, made answer and said, "I beseech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogither unlearned, and understand not the Latine tongue, but very simply.

simply. My onely study hath been to say my service and masse, faire and deliberate, which I can doe as well as any priest in the countrey where I dwell, I thank God." "Wel," said the other, "if you will not appose me, I will bee so bolde to appose you, and yet as easily as I can devise, and that only in the story of the bible now in English, in which I suppose that you are daily exercised. Tell me therfore who was king Davids father," said my lord. The priest stood still pausing a while and saide: "In good faith my lord, I have forgotten his name." Then said the other againe to him, "If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell mee then who was Solomons father?" The fond foolishe priest without all consideration what was demaunded of him before, made answer, "Good my lord beare with me, I am not further seene in the bible, then is daily read in our service in the church."

The archbishop then answering, said: "this my question may be found well answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever yee have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practise of all you which are ignorant and superstitious priests, to slander, backbite, and hate all such as are learned and well affected towards Gods word and sincere religion. Common reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all maner of reason, that a prince having two universities within his realme of well learned men, and desirous to be resolved of as doubtfull a question as these manie yeares was not mooved the like within Christendome, should be driven to that necessitie for the defence of his cause, to send out of his realme an hostler, being a man of no better knowledge then is a gosling, in an embassade

to

to answer all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperors court, in so difficult a question as toucheth the kings matrimonie, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were men of any reasonable consideration, you might think it both unseemely and uncomely for a prince so to doe. But looke where malice raigneth in man, there reason can take no place: and therefore I see by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reason or authority can perswade you to favour my name, who never meant evill to you, but your both commoditie and profite. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds."

With these words the priest seemed to weepe, and desired his grace to pardon his fault and frailetie, so that by this meanes he might returne to his cure againe, and he would sure recant those his foolish words before his parishioners so soone as hee came home, and would become a new man. "Well," said the archbishop, "so had you neede." And giving him a godly admonition to refuse the haunting of the alehouse, and to bestow his time better in the continuall reading of the scriptures, hee dismissed him from the Fleet.

The lord Cromwell perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to Lambeth unto the archbishop, and in a great heate said to him: "My lord, I understand that you have dispatched the northern priest that I of late sent to the Fleete, home againe, who unhonestly railed of you, and called you an hostler."

"Indeede I have so done" (said hee againe) "for that in his absence the people of his cure wanted their divine service." "It is verie devout divine service that he saieth," quoth the L. Cromwell: "It were more meete for him to be an hostler then

then a curate, who sticked not to call you an hostler. But I thought so much what you would doe, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit henceforth, they shall cut your throate, before that I say any thing more to them on your behalfe." "Why? What would you have done with him," quoth the archbishop: "there was nothing laid to his charge, other then wordes spoken against me, and now the man is repentant and well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that hee were rid out of his trouble." "Well," said my lord Cromwell, "I meant that he should have preached at Paules crosse a recantation before hee had gone home." "That had binne well done," quothe the other, "for then you would have had all the world as well to wonder at mee as at him." "Well, well," said the L. Cromwell: "we shall so long beare with these popish knaves, that at length they will bring us in deed to be wondered at of the whole world."

This example among other, serveth to declare that there remained small desire of revenging in the said archbishop. But what should I say more? His quietnes and mortification this waie, was such, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he never raged so far with any of his houshold servants, as once to call the meanest of them varlet, or knave in anger, much lesse to reproove a stranger with any reprochefull words. Much unlike in this part to the propertie (as it seemeth) of some other inferiour bishops of this realme, which have not spared to flie in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burne the hands, to beat and scourge with rods the bodies both of gentlemen, maried men and other, having almost nothing else in their mouth, but fooles and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, thinke

thinke themselves good perfect bishops: after the rule which followeth and saith,

No Striker, nor Fighter,

No striker, nor fighter. From which kinde of vice, the nature of this archbishop was so far off, as was his doctrine which hee professed, and death which he suffered, far off from all condition and example of blinde popery. After the prohibition of these foresaid vices, succeedeth the mother of all good vertues necessarilie required of all true christians, but chiefely of a spirituall prelate, which is,

Not given to filthy Lucre, but harborous.

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous, &c. The contrarie whereof, was so odious unto saint Paul, that he esteemed the same no lesse then a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their dutie to God so farre, and in steade of him to worship their treasure. How little this prelate we speake of, was infected with this vice, and how hee was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the seas, and on this side, to whom yearely hee gave in exhibition no small summes of money, as other, both gentlemen, meane men, and poore men, who had in their necessitie, that which hee could conveniently spare, lend, or make, can well testifie. And albeit such was his liberalitie to all sorts of men, that no man did lacke whom he could do for, either in giving or lending: yet neverthelesse such was againe his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed by queene Mary to the tower, he ought no man living a peny that could or would demaund any duetie of him, but satisfied every man to the uttermost: where els no small summes

of

of money were owing him of divers persons, which by breaking their billes and obligations, he freely forgave and suppressed before his attainder. Insomuch that when he perceived the fatal end of king Edward should worke to him no good successe touching his bodie and goods, he incontinently called for his officers, his steward and other, commanding them in any wise to pay where any peny was owing, which was out of hand dispatched. And then he said, "now I thanke God I am mine own man, and in conscience with Gods helpe able else to answere all the world and worldly adversities;" which some men supposeth hee might also have avoided, if he would have been counselled by some of his friends. It followeth moreover:

Harborous.

And as touching this word *harborous*, whereby is meant the good maintenance of hospitalitie, so little was this propertie lacking in him, that some men misliking the same, thought it rather a house of overmuch lavishing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can bee so well done, which by some other shall not be maligned and detracted, so neither did this man lacke his cavillers, some finding fault with his overmuch prodigalitie, some on the contrarie part repining and complaining of his spare house, and straight order much under the state of his revenues and calling. Of which two, the first sort must consider the causes which mooved him to that liberal and large kind of expenses. Wherein here commeth to be considered, the time wherein hee served: which was when reformation of religion first began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the same, most chiefly depended upon his hand. During which season almost for the space of sixteen yeares togither, his house was never lightly unfurnished

nished of a number both of learned men and commissioners from time to time appointed for deciding of ecclesiasticall affaires.

And thus as hee seemed to some over-large and lavishing more then needed in hospitalitie: so on the other side there wanted not some, of whom he was much noted and accused againe, yea and also complained of to K. Henry the 8. for too slender and niggardly housekeeping, as not worthy to bee accounted the hospitalitie of a meane gentleman; as here following shall appeare.

After that the ample and great possessions, revenues, juels, rich ornaments and other treasures of the abbeies were dissolved and brought into the kings hands, in the dissolving whereof many cormorants were fed and satisfied, and yet not so fullie satisfied, but that within a few yeeres they began to waxe hungry againe: and for so much as no more could bee scraped now out of abbeies, they began to seeke how by some other pray to satisfie their appetites, which was to tickle the kings eares with the rich revenue of the bishops lands. And to bring this devise to passe, they procured Sir Thomas Seimour knight, of the privy chamber, to be a promoter of the matter: who not in all points much favouring the archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the king that my lord of Canturbury did nothing els but sell his woods, and let his leases by great and many fines, making havocke of all the roialties of the archbishopricke, and that onely to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and his children, keeping no maner of hospitalitie, in respect of so great a revenewe: advertising the king further, that it was the opinion of many wise men, that it were more meete for the bishops to have a sufficient yeerely stipend in money out of the exchequer, then to bee

cumbred

cumbred with those temporall affaires of their roialties, being impediments unto their studie, and pastorall charge, and his highnes to have their lands and roialties converted to his proper use, which besides their honest stipends, would bee unto his majesty no small commoditie and profit.

When the king had heard his faire tale, he said little thereunto, other then this, "Wel" (quoth he) "we will talk more of this matter at an other time." Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout, (whether by chance, or of set purpose, it is not known) it came to passe, that one day his highnesse going to dinner had washed, (Sir Thomas Seimor then holding the ewer) and said to the said Sir Thomas, "Go you out of hand to Lambeth unto my lord of Canturbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the clocke at afternoone, and faile not." Sir Thomas straightwaies went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the porter being in the lodge, came out and conveighed him to the hall, which was throughly furnished and set, both with the houshold servants and strangers, with four principal head messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed[3] to be. When Sir Thomas Seimor sawe that stately large hall so well set and furnished, beeing therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the king before, hee retired backe,

[3] *It was accustomed.*] "There were generally three tables spread in the archbishop's hall, and served at the same time: the archbishop's table, at which ordinarily sate none but peers of the realm, privy-counsellors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality: the Almoner's table, at which sate the chaplains, and all guests of the clergy, beneath diocesan bishops, and abbots: the steward's table, at which sate all other gentlemen. The suffragan bishops were wont to sit at the Almoner's table." Hen. Wharton's *Observations on Strype's Cranmer*, in the Appendix to that work, p. 258. Compare *Strype's Life of Parker*, p. 155, 156. Appendix.

and

and would needes have gone to the archbishop of Canturbury by the chappell, and not through the hall. Richard Nevell gentleman, then steward of the houshold, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle intertainement, demanded of him whether hee would speak with my lord or no? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the kings highnes, saying unto him, "and this way I am going to my lords grace." "Sir," said the steward, "you cannot go that way, for the doore is fast shut, in the dinner time:" and so by gentle meanes brought him up to my lords chamber thorough the hall, who then was at dinner: with whom hee dined after he had done his message, whose ordinarie fare might alwaies well beseem a right honorable personage. When dinner was scarse done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my lord, and went againe to the court.

So soone as the kings highnesse saw him, he saide to him, "Have you been with my lord of Canturburie?" Sir Thomas answered, "That I have if it please your majestie, and he will be with your highnes sraightwaies." "Dined you not with him," said the king: "Yes sir" (said he) "that have I done." And with that word, whether hee espied by the kings countenance, or by his words any thing tending to displeasure, he straightway without delay, kneeled down upon his knee, and said, "I beseech your majesty to pardon me: I doe now well remember and understand, that of late I tolde your highnesse a great untruth concerning my lord of Canturburies house keeping: but from henceforth I intend never to beleeve that person which did put that vaine tale into my head: For I assure your highnesse that I never sawe so honorable a hall set in this realme, (besides your majesties hall) in all my life, with better order, and so wel furnish-

furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it my selfe, I could never have beleeved it; and himselfe also so honourablie served."

"Ah sir," quoth the kings highnesse: "Have you now espied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had bin there. He was a very varlet (quoth the king) that told you that tale: for he spendeth (ah good man, said the king) all that he hath in house keeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you to whom I have liberally given of the possessions and revenewes of the suppressed monasteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, so have you more unthriftily spent, some at dice, other some in gay apparel, and other waies worse I feare me: and now that all is gone you would fain have me make an other chevaunce with the bishops lands, to accomplish your greedie appetites. But let no other bishops bestow their revenewes worse then my lord of Canturburie doth, then shall you have no cause to complain of their keeping of house."

And thus the tale being shut up, and ended by the kings highnesse, neither Sir Thomas Seimor, nor none else on his behalfe ever after durst renue, or revive that sute any more in king Henries daies: so that it may be evident to all indifferent men, the liberalitie of the archbishop in house keeping what it was, which being defended, and commended by the prince himselfe, rather may give a good example to his posteritie to follow, then was then to be depraved of any private subject, such as knew him not.

In which archbishop this moreover is to bee noted, with a memorandum, touching the reliefe of the poore, impotent, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Bullen, and other parts beyond the

the seas, lame, wounded, and destitute: for whome he provided, besides his mansion house at Beckisborne in Kent, the parsonage barne well furnished with certaine lodgings for the sicke and maimed souldiors. To whom were also appointed the almosiner, a physicion, and a surgeon to attend upon them, and to dresse and cure such as were not able to resort to their countries, having daily from the bishops kitchin hot broth and meate; for otherwise the common almes of the housholde was bestowed upon the poore neighbors of the shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travell, they had convenient money delivered to beare their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberall benignity, I thought here good not in silence to be suppressed, whereby other may be moved according to their vocation, to walke in the steps of no lesse liberality, then in him in this behalfe appeared.

One that loveth goodnes, sober minded, rightcous, holy, and temperate.

Now followeth together these vertues, *One that loveth goodnesse, sober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.* As concerning these qualities, the trade of his life before joyned with his benigne and gentle disposition, doe testifie that hee could not be void of these good vertues raigning in him, which was so aboundantly adorned with the other, which above wee have declared.

To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholsome learning, and to improve them that say against it.

Then concludeth S. Paul with the most excellent

vertue of all other to be wished in a prelate of the church. For if this constancy be not in him to this end, that is: *To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrin, that he may be able to exhort with wholsome learning, and to improve them that say against it:* If he be void (I say) of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but shal seem an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither shal he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for dread or meed, affection or favor, hee doe at any time or in any point swarve from the truth. As in this behalfe the worthy constancy of this saide archbishop never, for the most part, shrunk for no maner of storm: but was so many waies tried, that neither favor of his prince, nor feare of the indignation of the same, nor any other worldly respect could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrin of the gospel. Notwithstanding, his constant defence of Gods truth, was ever joined with such meeknes toward the king, that he never tooke occasion of offence against him.

To manie which be yet alive, and can testifie these things, it is not unknowne, how variable the state of religion stood in these daies: how hardlie and with what difficultie it came forth: what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled, and gave eare sometime to one, sometime to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backeward againe, and sometime clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevaile which were about the king. So long as queene Anne lived, the gospel had indifferent successe.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king was made away, the course of the gospel began againe to decline, but that the Lord then

then stirred up the lord Cromwell, opportunely to help in that behalfe. Who no doubt did much availe, for the increase of Gods true religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries, maligning the prosperous glorie of the gospel, by contrarie practising had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his vertuous proceedings. By the meanes of which adversaries it came to passe after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of religion more and more decaied, during all the residue of the raigne of king Henrie.

Among these adversaries above mentioned, the chiefe captaine was Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who with his confederates and adherents, disdaining at the state of the lord Cromwel, and at the late marriage of the ladie Anne of Cleve (who in the beginning of the yeare of our Lord 1540. was married to the king) as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the growing of the gospel, sought al occasions how to interrupt these happie beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wilie Winchester found out to worke upon, yee shall heare in order as followeth.

It hapned the same time, that the lord Cromwell for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realme, devised a mariage for the king to be concluded betweene him and the lady Anne of Cleve, whose other sister was already married unto the duke of Saxonie. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetuall league, amitie, and allie should be nourished betweene this realme and the princes of Germanie, and so thereby godly religion might bee made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome, and his tyrannicall religion. But the divell ever envying the prosperitie of the gospell,

pell, laide a stumbling blocke in that cleer waie for the king to stumble at. For when the parents of the noble lady were communed withall for the furtherance of the said mariage, among others of her friends, whose good will was required, the duke of Saxonie her brother in law misliked the marriage, partly for that hee would have had her bestowed upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followeth that the slacknes of the duke in that behalfe being espied, craftie Winchester taking good holdfast thereon, so alienated the kings mind from the amitie that seemed now to begin and grow betweene the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof, he brought the king at length cleane out of credit with that religion and doctrine which the duke had then maintained many yeares before.

This wilie Winchester with his craftie fetches partlie upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent perswasions creeping into the kings eares, ceased not to seeke all meanes how to work his feate and to overthrow religion: first bringing him in hatred with the Germaine princes, then putting him in feare of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other forrain powers to rise against him, but especially of civill tumults and commotions here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion and disolving of abbeies, and for abolishing of rites, and other customes of the church, sticking so fast in the mindes of the people, that it was to bee feared, least their hearts were or would bee shortly stirred up against him, unlesse some speedie remedie were to the contrarie provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous matter in a common wealth, it is

to

to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, hee exhorted the king for his owne safegard and publike quiet and tranquillitie of his realme, to see betime how and by what policie these so manifolde mischiefes might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, then if hee would shew himselfe sharpe and severe against these new sectaries, anabaptists and sacramentaries (as they called them) and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholike faith, as whereby hee might recover againe his credence with christian princes, and whereby all the world besides, might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholike. By these and such like craftie suggestions, the king beeing too much seduced and abused, began to withdrawe his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himselfe more safetie both in his owne realm, and also to avoid such dangers, which otherwise might happen by other princes, especially seeing of late hee had refused to come to the generall councell at Vincence[9], being thereto invited both by the emperour, and other forraine potentates. And therefore although hee had rejected the pope out of this realme, yet because he would declare him selfe neverthelesse to bee a good catholike sonne of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blinde opinion of the world then did esteeme them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning

[9] *Generall councell at Vincence.*] Upon which occasion he published a letter beginning, "Henry the VIII, by the grace of God kynge of Englande, and of Fraunce, &c. saluteth the emperour, christen princes, and all true christen men."—Printed by Berthelet, A. D. 1538. The letter is in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1034, 1035.

and

and burning of Lambert, then after hee gave out those injunctions above prefixed[1]: and now further to increase this opinion with al men, in the yere next following, which was of the Lord, 1540, through the devise and practise of certain of the popes factors about him, he summoned a solemne parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28 day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realme: also a synode or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergie of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

In which parliament, synode, or convocation, certaine articles, matters and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certaine prelates, to the number especiallie of six, commonly called the six articles, to be had and received among the kings subjects, in pretence of unitie. But what unitie thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruell death of divers both in the daies of K. Henrie and of queene Mary, can so well declare, as I pray God, never the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloudie act conteined, although it bee worthie of no memorie amongst christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetuall oblivion, yet for that the office of historie compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posteritie to come, faithfully and truely to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another: this shall be briefly to recapitulate the summe and effect of the foresaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder doe follow.

"The first article in this present parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: that in the most

[1] *Above prefixed.*] Fox's *Acts*, p. 1035, 1036.

blessed

blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christs mightie word (it being spoken by the priest) is present really under the form of bread and wine, the naturall body and bloud of our saviour Jesu Christ, conceived of the virgin Mary, and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

"Secondly, that the communion in both kindes, is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God to all persons: and that it is to be beleeved and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the verie blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh, as wel apart, as they were both together.

"Thirdly, that priests after the order of priesthood received as afore, may not marrie by the law of God.

"Fourthly, that the vowes of chastite or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to bee observed by the law of God: and that it exempteth them from other liberties of christian people, which without that they might injoy.

"Fiftly, that it is meete and necessarie, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation: as wherby good christian people ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits: And it is agreeable also to Gods law.

"Sixtly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, and continued, used and frequented in the church of God."

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realme craftily perceiving that such a foule and violent act, could not take place or prevaile, unlesse straight and bloudie

bloudie penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practise, to be ordeined and enacted by the king and the lords spirituall, and temporall, and the commons in the said parliament as followeth.

" That if any person or persons within this realm of England, or any other the kings dominions, after the xii. day of July next comming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphring or any other wise should publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under forme of breade and wine (after the consecration thereof) there is not present really, the naturall bodie and bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration, there remaineth any substance of the bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man: or after the time abovesaid, publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the forme of breade, is not the very bloud of Christ, or that with the bloud of Christ, under the forme of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, aswell apart, as thogh they were both together: or by any of the meanes abovesaid, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirme the said sacrament to be of other substance then is abovesaid, or by any meane contemne, deprave, or despise the saide blessed sacrament: that then every such person, so offending, their ayders, comforters, counsellers, consenters, and abetters therein (being thereof convicted in forme underwitten, by the authoritie abovesaid) should bee deemed and adjudged heretikes, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresie: and that every such offender and offenders, should therefore have and suffer judgement,

ment, execution, paine and paines of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or suffered: and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the kinges hignes, his heyres and successors, all his or their honors, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods, and chattels, fermes and freeholds, whatsoever they were, through any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason."

And as touching the other five articles following, the penalty devised for them, was this: "That every such person or persons, which doe preach, teach, obstinatelie affirme, uphold, mainteine or defend, after the 12. day of Julie, the said yeare, any thing contrary to the same: or if any being in orders or after a vow advisedlie made did marie, or make marriage, or contract matrimonie, in so doing should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of felony, without any benefit of the clergie, or priviledge of the church or of the sanctuary, &c.

"Item, that every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convict or attainted for the first time, besides the forfeite of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the kings pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convict, should suffer, as in case aforesaid of felonie.

"Item, if any within order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contract-

contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterlie void and be dissolved.

"Item, that the same danger that belonged to priests marrying their wives, should also redound to the women maried unto the priests."

These sixe articles above specified, although they conteined manifest errours, heresies, and absurdities against all scripture and learning (as all men having any judgement in Gods word may plainelie understand) yet such was the miserable adversitie of that time and the power of darkenes, that the simple cause of truth and of religion, was utterlie left desolate and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the kings minde so fully addict upon politike respectes to have these articles passe forward, few or none in all that parliament would appeare, which either could perceive that was to be defended, or durst defend that they understood to be true, save only Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, who then being married[2] (as is supposed) like a constant patron of Gods cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth oppressed in the parliament, three daies togither disputing against those six wicked articles, bringing forth such allegations and authorities as might easilie have helped the cause, *Nisi pars major vicisset, ut sæpe solet, meliorem.* Who in the said disputation, behaved himselfe with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king, and again his reasons and allega-

[2] *Then being married.*] He married in Germany, probably in the year 1532, the niece of an eminent reformer, Osiander. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 11.

tions

tions were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the king (who ever bare speciall favour unto him) wel liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament house into the councell chamber, for a time (for safegard of his conscience) till the act should passe and be granted: which he notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to doe.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king considering the constant zeale of the archbishop, in defence of his cause, and partlie also weighing the many authorities, and reasons, whereby hee had substantially confirmed the same, sent the lord Cromwell (which within fewe daies after was apprehended) the two dukes of Northfolk, and Suffolke, and all the lords of the parliament, to dyne with him at Lambeth, where they signified unto him that it was the kings pleasure that they all should in his highnes behalfe, cherish, comfort and animate him, as one that for his travell in that parliament, had declared himselfe both greatly learned, and also a man discreete and wise, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked first the kings highnes, of his singular good affection towards him, and them all for their paines, adding moreover that hee so hoped in God that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the realme: which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were amongst us extant to be seene and reade, no doubt but they would stand in time to come in great good stead for the overthrowe of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

And now that it may appeare likewise, that after the decay of the lord Cromwell, yet his constancy in

in Christs cause did not decay, you shall heare what followed after.

For after the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospell thought all things sure now on their side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the said archbishop of Canturbury for the establishing of certaine articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said archbishop. For having now the lord Cromwell fast and sure, they thought all had beene safe, and sure for ever: as in deed to all mens reasonable consideration, that time appeared so dangerous, that there was no maner hope that religion reformed, should any one week longer stand, such account was then made of the kings untowardnes thereunto. In so much, that of all those commissioners, there was not one left to stay on the archbishops part, but he alone against them all, stood in the defence of the truth, and those that he most trusted to, namely, bishop Heath, and bishop Skip left him in the plaine field, who then so turned against him, that they tooke upon them to perswade him to that purpose: and having him downe from the rest of the commissioners, into his garden at Lambeth, there by all maner of effectuall perswasions, intreated him to leave off his overmuch constancy, and to incline unto the kings intent, who was fully set to have it otherwise then he then had penned, or meant to have set abroad. When those two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had used all their eloquence, and policie, he little regarding their inconstancy and remisnesse in Gods cause or quarrel, saide unto them right notably.

"You

"You make much adoe to have me come to your purpose, alledging that it is the kings pleasure to have the articles in that sort you have devised them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his highnesse by sinister information, to be bent that way, you thinke it a convenient thing to apply unto his highnesse mind. You be my friends both, especially the one of you I did put to his majesty as of trust. Beware I say, what you doe. There is but one truth in our articles to bee concluded upon, which if you do hide from his highnesse by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after in processe of time, when the truth cannot bee hidden from him, his highnesse shall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I knowe his graces nature so well (quoth the archbishop) that hee will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therfore I will you to beware thereof in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." But all this would not serve, for they still swarved; and in the end by discharging of his conscience and declaring the truth unto the king, God so wrought with the king, that his highnesse joined with him against the rest; so that the booke of articles passing on his side, he wan the gole from them al, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have bin laid in London, that he should have bin laid up with Cromwel at that time in the tower, for his stiffe standing to his tackle. After that day there could neither counsellor, bishop, or papist win him out of the kings favor.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the councell, whose names needed not to be repeated, by the intisement and provocation of his ancient enemie the bishop of Winchester, and other of the same

same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainely, that the realme was so infected with heresies and heretikes, that it was dangerous for his highnesse, farther to permit it unreformed: least peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise, and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that therby might spring horrible commotions, and uproares, like as in some parts of Germanie, it did not long ago. The enormitie wherof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his own preaching, and his chapleins had filled the whole realme full of divers pernicious heresies. The king would needes know his accusers. They answered that forasmuch as he was a counsellor no man durst take upon him to accuse him: but if it would please his highnesse, to commit him to the tower for a time, there would bee accusations and proofes enow against him; for otherwise just testimonie, and witnesse against him would not appeare; and therfore your highnesse (said they) must needs give us the councell liberty, and leave to commit him to durance.

The king perceiving their importunate sute against the archbishop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they should the next day, commit him to the tower for his tryall. When night came, the king sent sir Anthony Denie about midnight, to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himselfe to the court, and comming into the gallerie where the king walked, and taried for him, his highnesse said, "Ah my lord of Canterburie, I can tell you newes. For divers waighty considerations it is determined by me, and the councell,

councell, that you to morrowe at nine of the clocke shall be committed to the tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and therby sowen within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contention, and commotions will rise thereby amongst my subjects, as of late daies the like was in divers parts of Germanie: and therfore the councell have requested me, for the triall of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the tower, or else no man dare come forth, as witnesse in these matters, you being a counsellor."

When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled downe and said, "I am content if it please your grace, with all my hart, to go thither at your highnesse commandement; and I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my trial, for there be that have many waies slandered mee: and now this way I hope to trie my selfe not worthy of such report."

The king perceiving the mans uprightnesse, joyned with such simplicitie, said, "Oh Lord, what maner a man bee you? What simplicitie is in you? I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your triall, without any such indurance. Doe not you know, what state you be in with the whole world, and how manie great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easie thing it is, to procure three or foure false knaves to witnesse against you? Think you to have better lucke that wai, than your master Christ had? I see by it, you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevaile against you, for I have

have otherwise devised with my selfe to keepe you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to morrow when the counsell shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counsellor, that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further indurance, and use for your selfe as good perswasions that way as you may devise: and if no intreatie or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring," (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop) "and say unto them, *if there be no remedie my lords, but that I must needs go to the tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeale to the kings owne person, by this his token unto you all:* "for" (sayd the king then unto the archbishop) "so soon as they shall see this my ring, they knowe it so well that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine owne hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

The archbishop perceiving the kings benignitie so much to himwards, had much ado to forbeare teares. "Well," said the king, "Go your waies my lord, and do as I have bidden you." My lord humbling himselfe with thankes, tooke his leave of the kings highnesse for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noone, the councell sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who when hee came to the councell chamber doore, could not be let in, but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackies, and serving men al alone. Doctor Buts, the kings physicion, resorting that way, and espying how my lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the kings highnesse and said,

"My lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace is well promoted: for now he is become a lackey or a serving man; for yonder he standeth this half hower at the councell chamber doore amongst them." "It is not so" (quoth the king) "I trowe; nor the councell hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitane of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone" (sayd the king) "and wee shall heare more soone."

Anone the archbishop was called into the counsaille chamber, to whome was alledged, as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort, as the king had advised him: and in the end when he perceived that no maner of perswasion or intreatie could serve, he delivered them the kings ring, revoking his cause into the kings hands. The whole councell being thereat somewhat amazed, the earle of Bedford with a loud voice confirming his wordes with a solemn othe, said, "When you first began the matter my lords, I tolde you what would come of it. Do you thinke that the king will suffer this mans finger to ake? Much more (I warrant you) will hee defend his life against brabling varlets. You doe but cumber your selves to heare tales and fables against him." And so incontinentlie upon the receipt of the kings token, they all rose, and caryed to the king his ring, surrendring that matter as the order and use was, into his own hands.

When they were all come to the kings presence, his highnes with a severe countenance, said unto them; "Ah my lords, I thought I had had wiser men of my councel than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to waite at the councell chamber doore amongst serv-

ing men? You might have considered that he was a counsellor as wel as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should tric him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I doe you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may bee beholding unto his subject" (and so solemnly laying his hand upon his brest, said) "by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all other a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whome wee are much beholding;" giving him great commendations otherwise. And with that one or two of the chiefest of the councell, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his indurance, it was rather meant for his triall, and his purgation, against the common fame, and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords" (quoth the king) "take him and well use him, as hee is worthy to be, and make no more adoe." And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers; which might easily be done with that man.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go so far with him, thus to seeke his undoing, this well understanding before, that the king most entirely loved him, and allwaies would stand in his defence whosoever spake against him: as many other times the kings patience was by sinister informations against him tried. Insomuch that the lord Cromwell was evermore wont to say unto him: "my lord of Canterbury, you are most happy of all men: for you may doe and speake what you list; and say what all men can against you, the

king will never beleeve one word to your detriment or hindrance. I am sure I take more paines than all the councell doth, and spend more largely in the kings affaires, as well beyond the seas as on this side: yea I assure you, even very spies in other forreine realmes, at Rome and else where, costeth me above one thousand marks a yeere: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commoditie of the king and the realme, I am every day chidden and many false tales now and then beleeved against me: and therefore you are most happy, for in no point can you be discredited with the king." To this the archbishop againe answering, "If the kings majestie were not good to me that way, I were not able to stand and indure one whole week, but your wisdome and policy is such, that you are able to shift well enough for your selfe."

Now when the kings highnes had thus benignly and mercifully dispatched the said archbishop from this sore accusation by the councell laid against him, all wise men would have thought that it had been meere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter against him: but yet looke where malice raigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. Such therfore as had conceived deepe rancor and displeasure against him, ceased not to persecute him by all possible means. Then brought they against him a new kinde of accusation, and caused sir John Gostwike knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuse the archbishop openly in the parliament house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should bee contained manifest heresies against the sacrament of the altar, &c. which accusation came to the kings eare. "Why," quoth the king) "where dwelleth Gost-

"wick? As I take it, either in Bedfordshire or Buckinghamshire: and hath he so open an eare that he can heare my lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very likely, said the king. If he had bin a Kentishman, there had been something worthie of consideration: but as for Gostwike, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him and tell him," said the king to one of his privy chamber, "if he go not to my lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himselfe to him that he may become his good lord, I will pull the Goslings fethers so, that hereafter hee shall have little lust to slander the metropolitane, or any other learned man." When sir J. Gostwicke heard these words, it was no need to bid him haste himselfe to Lambeth unto the metropolitane, making to him as many friends as possible hee might. When he came to the archbishop, he was faine to disclose unto him, by what meanes he was procured to doe that he did, requesting his clemencie to be his good lord, or else he tooke himself utterly undone, being so in the kings indignation, as he understoode he was by that afore declared; which sute was soone won at his hand: and so the archbishop casting into the satchell behind him all those sir John Gostwickes ingratitudes, went to the king, and wan to sir John his princes favour againe. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation.

Wel, here you may perceive that malicious invention, went not the wisest way to worke, to procure a stranger dwelling a far off, to accuse the archbihsop of his doctrine preached in his diocese: and therefore hath blinde malice learned some more wisdome now to accuse the archbishop in such sort as hee shall never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient ene-

mies

mies, that not onely the prebendaries of his cathedrall church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire should accuse him, and article against him: which in very deede was moste substantially brought to passe, and the articles, both well written and subscribed, were delivered to the kings highnesse, as a thing of such effect, that there must needs follow to the said archbishop both indignation of the prince and condigne punishment, for his greevous offence committed by him and his chaplaines, in preaching such erroneous doctrin as they did within his diocesse of Canterbury, wherof they being such witnesses of credit, no man had cause to doubt of their circumspect dooings. This accusation particularlie set out, was delivered to the king by some of the counsailes meanes. When the king had perused the booke, hee wrapt it up, and put it into his sleeve: and finding occasion to solace himselfe upon the Thames, came with his barge furnished with his musitions a long by Lambeth bridge towards Chelsey. The noise of the musitions provoked the archbishop to resort to the bridge to doe his ductie, and to salute his prince. Whom when the king had perceived to stand at the bridge, eftsoones he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge.

"Ah my chaplaine," said the king to the archbishop, "come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his highnesse, that he would take his owne barge and waite upon his majestie. "No," said the king, "You must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you." When the king and the archbishop all alone in the barge were set togither, said the king to the archbishop; "I have newes out of Kent for you my lord." The archbishop answered, "Good I hope, if it please your

your highnesse." "Mary," said the king, "they be so good, that I now know the greatest hereticke in Kent;" and with that pulled out of his sleeve the booke of articles against both the said archbishop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, willing him to peruse the same. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himselfe so uncourteously handled of his own church, wherof he was head, I meane of the prebendaries of his cathedrall church, and of such his neighbours as he had many waies gratified, I mean the justices of the peace, it much grieved him. Notwithstanding he kneeled downe to the king, and besought his majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highnesse, for them to try out the truth of this accusation. "In very deed" (said the king) "I do so mean, and you your selfe shall bee chiefe commissioner, to adjoyne to you such two or three more as you shall thinke good your selfe." "Then it will be thought" (quoth the archbishop to the king) "that it is not indifferent, if it please your grace, that I should bee mine owne judge, and my chaplains also." "Well," said the king, "I will have none other but your selfe, and such as you will appoint. For I am sure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuse yourself; and I know partlie how this geare proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a prety conspiracie devised against you. Whom will you have with you," sayde the king? "Whom it shall please your grace to name," quoth the archbishop. "I will appoint doctor Bellhouse for one, name you the other," said the king, "meete for that purpose." "My Chancellor, doctor Coxe, and Hussey, my register," said the archbishop, "are men expert to examine such troublesome matters." "Well," said

said the king, "lett there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings."

They came into Kent, and there they sate about three weekes to boult out who was the first occasion of this accusation, for thereof the king would chieflie be advertised. Now the inquisition being begun by the commissioners, every man shrunk in his horns, and no man would confesse any thing to the purpose. For doctor Coxe and Hussey, being friendly unto the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing beeing well perceived by one of the archbishops servants, his secretary, he wrote incontinently unto doctor Buttes, and maister Deny, declaring that if the kings majestie did not send some other to assist my lord, than those that then were there with him, it were not possible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that doctor Lee or some other stout man that had beene exercised in the king's ecclesiastical affaires in his visitations, might be sent to the archbishop. Upon these letters doctour Lee was sent for to Yorke by the king, and having the kings farther mind declared unto him, when he came to the court, hee resorted incontinently into Kent, so that on Allhallows Even, he delivered to the archbishop the kings ring, with a declaration of his highnesse farther pleasure: and by and by upon his message done, he appointed the archbishop aforesaid to name him a dosen or twelve of his officers and gentlemen, such as had both discretion, wit, and audacitie, to whom he gave in commission from the king, to search both the purses, chests, and chambers, of all those that were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy both within the cathedrall church and without, and such letters or

writings

writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and him.

These men thus appointed, went in one houro and instant, to the persons houses and places, that they were appointed unto: and within foure houres afterwardes the whole conspiracie was disclosed by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from doctor London of Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with other: so that the first beginning, the proceeding and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire was also searched, where also were found letters serving to this purpose. Amongs all other, came to my lords hands two letters, one of the suffragan of Dover, and another of doctor Barbar a civilian, whom continually the archbishop reteined with him in housholde for expedition of matters in sute before him, as a counsellor in the lawe when need required it. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, hee used ever in such familiaritie, that when the suffragan being a prebend of Canterburie, came to him, he alwaies set him at his owne messe[3], and the other never from his table, as men in whom hee had much delight and comfort, when time of care and pensivenesse chanced. But that which they did, was altogether counterfaite, and the divell was turned into the angell of light, for they were both of this confederacie.

[3] *His owne messe.*] "The suffragan bishops then were wont to sit at the almoner's table; and the archbishop in admitting his suffragan Thornden to his own table, did him an unusual honour; which was therefore noted to aggravate the ingratitude of the man, conspiring against the archbishop." H. Wharton in Strype's Cranmer, p. 258. Appendix. See above, p. 1653. Fox, n. 8.

When

When my lord had gotten these their letters into his hands, he on a day, when it chaunced the suffragan to come to him to his house at Bekisburne, called to him into his studie the said suffragan of Dover and doctor Barbar, saying, "Come your waies with me, for I must have your advise in a matter." When they were with him in his studie altogethers, he saide to them, "You twaine be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust: you must now give me some good counsell, for I am shamefully abused with one or twaine to whom I have shewed all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as my self. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresie and are become witnesses against mee. I require you therefore of your good advice how I shall behave my selfe towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I alwaies have used when I needed counsell. What say you to the matter?" quoth the archbishop.

"Mary," quoth doctor Barbar, "such vilains and knaves, (saving your honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." "Hanging were too good," quoth the suffragan, "and if there lacked one to doe execution, I would be hangman my selfe."

At these words, the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "Oh Lord most merciful God, whom may a man trust now adaies? It is most true which is sayd; *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium suum.* There was never man handled as I am: but Oh Lord thou hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and maister," (meaning the king) without whose protection I were not able to stand upright

upright one day unoverthrowne. I prayse thy holy name therefore." And with that he pulled out of his bosome their two letters, and sayd, "Know ye these letters my maisters?" With that they fell downe upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a yeere before were attempted to do the same; and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. "Well," sayde the gentle archbishop, "God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands: but aske God forgivenesse against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now that there is no fidelitie or truth amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I feare my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marveile hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercie to finish that time shortly:" and so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable wordes, in such sort that never after appeared in his countenaunce [4] or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all those letters and accusations were found, they were put into a chest, the kings majesty minding to have perused some of them, and to have partly punished the principals of it. The chest and writings were brought to Lambeth. At what time began the parliament, lord what ado there was to procure the king a subsidie, to the intent that thereupon might ensue a pardon, which

4. *In his countenaunce.*] "But he thought fit no more to trust them: and so discharged them of his service." Strype's Cranmer, p. 191.

indeede

indeede followed, and so nothing was done, other than their falshood known. This was the last push of the pike that was inferred against the saide archbishop in king Henry the 8. his daies: for never after durst any man move matter against him in his time.

And thus have ye both the working and disclosing of this popish conspiracy against this worthy archbishop and martyr of Christ, Thomas Cranmer. In the which conspiracy, forsomuch as complaint was also made unto the king of his Chaplaines and good preachers in Kent, it shall not be out of the storie somthing likewise to touch therof, especially of Richard Turner then preacher the same time in this archbishops diocesse, and curate to maister Morice the archbishops secretary, in the towne of Chartham, by whose diligent preaching a great part of this heartburning of the papists tooke his first kindling against the archbishop. Touching the description of which story, because by me nothing shall be said either more or lesse, than is the truth, yee shall heare the very certainty thereof truely compiled in a letter sent the same time to doctor Butts and sir Anthony Deny, to be shewed unto the king, and so it was, written by the foresaid M. Morice, secretary then to the said archbishop, farmour of the same benefice of Chartham, and patrone to M. Turner there minister and preacher aforesaid.

A Letter

A Letter or Apologie of M. Morice, sent to Sir William Buts, and Sir Anthony Deny, defending the Cause of M. Richard Turner Preacher, against the Papists.

The letter first beginning in these words, "I am certain right worshipful, that it is not unknown to your discreet wisdoms, &c." And after a few lines, comming to the matter, thus the said letter proceedeth.

"As your worships wel know, it was my chance to be brought up under my lord of Canterbury, my master, in writing of the ecclesiastical affaires of this realm, as wel touching reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and sincere religion received by the doctrine of the gospell: which I take to bee so substantially handled and builded upon the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, that hell gates shall never prevaile against it. The consideration wherof compelled me, being a farmer of the parsonage of Chartham in Kent, to retain with me one named M. Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the scriptures of God, but also in conversation of life towards the world, irreprehensible, whom for discharging of my conscience I placed at Chartham aforesaid to be curate there. This man because he was a stranger in the country there, and so thereby voide of grudge or displeasure of any olde rancor in the countrey, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his doctrine; but where malice once taketh fire against truth, no policy I see is able to quench it. Wel, this man as hee knew what appertained to his office, so hee spared

spared not weekly both Sundaies and holidaies to open the gospell and epistle unto his audience after such a sort (when occasion served) that as wel by his vehement inveying against the bishop of Romes usurped power and authority, as in the earnest setting forth and advancing of the kings majesties supremacy, innumerable of the people of the country resorting unto his sermons, changed their opinions, and favored effectually the religion received. The confluence of the people so daily increased, that the church being a faire, ample, and large church, was not, now and then, able to receive the number. The fame of this newe instruction of the people was so blased abroade, that the popish priests were wonderfully amased and displeased, to see their pope so to be defaced, and their prince so highly advanced.

"Now thought they it is high time for us to worke, or else all will here be utterly lost by this mans preaching: some then went with capons, some with hens, some with chickens, some with one thing, some with an other, unto the justices, such as then favored their cause and faction, and such as are no small fooles, as sir John Baker, sir Christopher Hales, sir Thomas Moile, knights, with other justices. The prebendaries of Christs church in Canturbury were made privy hereof, giving their succor and aide thereunto: so that in conclusion poore Turner and other preachers were grievously complained of unto the kings majesty. Whereupon my lord of Canterbury and certain other commissioners were appointed at Lambeth to sit upon the examination of these seditious preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his examination, I obtained of sir Thomas Moyles, that he in Easter week was content to heare Turner preach a rehearsal sermon in his parish church at Westwell,

Westwell, of al the doctrin of his sermons preached at his cure in Chartham: which he most gently granting, heard Turner both before noone and after noon on the Wednesday in Easter week last past, and (as it seemed) took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his said cure with gentle and favorable words. I supposed by this meanes to have staied M. Turner at home from further examination, hoping that sir Thomas Moyle would have aunswered for him at Lambeth before the commissioners. Notwithstanding, after maister Moiles comming to London, such information was laide in against Turner, that hee was sent for to make aunswere himselfe before the said commissioners: and there appearing before them, hee made such an honest, perfect, and learned answere unto the articles objected, that hee was with a good exhortation discharged home againe, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

"Now when the pope catholick clergie of Kent understood of his comming home without controlement, so that he preached as freely as he did before, against their blinde and dumme ceremonies, straightway by the help of the bishop of Winchester, Steven Gardiner, they found a new means to put him to an utter confusion, devising that he came home from examination in such glorious pompe by the hie waies side in the woods adjoyning, that five hundred persons met him then with banketting dishes to welcome him home, stirring the people rather to an uprore and a commotion, than to keep them in any quiet obedience: when in very deede contrary to this surmise (as God would) on this side Rochester a mile or two, for avoiding all such light and glorious talke with any of his familiars or acquaintance, he of purpose left the high way, and came through the woods al alone

alone about eighteen miles together on foote, so wearied and megered for want of sustenance, that when he came into my house at Chartham, he was not well able to stand or speake for faintnesse and thirst.

"This malicious tale being reported unto the kings highnes, his majesty was so sore agrieved therewith, that he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to cause Turner to bee whipt out of the countrey. By meanes whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury sent again for Turner. I hearing therof made incontinently report by my letters, with such vehemency prooving it meere malice, that the archbishop understanding the truth, pacified againe the kings majesties wrath. Home commeth Turner once againe to his cure without blot. Which so wrung the papists, in that they could not prevaile, that they thought it all in vaine anie further to attempt against him concerning any accusation for matters in Kent, the archbishop of Canterbury being his ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiscredited. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that hee had both translated the masse into English, and said, or ministered the same; and that he had preached against purgatory, pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By meanes whereof, he was now converted before the whole councel by the bishop of Winton, who sent Syriacke Petite gentleman, for him, which brought him up to London bound (as I heard say) and being examined before the said bishop of Winchester and other, was committed to ward for a season.

"In the which meane time the archbishop of Canturbury, being in Kent about the trial of a conspiracy

conspiracy purposed against himselfe by the justices of the shire, and the prebendaries of Christs church: Turner is now sent down to the archbishop, to the intent he should recant that doctrine which long ago hee in other places out of Kent had preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most godly and earnestly here in Kent taught both to the glory of God, and the furtherance and setting forth of the kings highnesse proceedings. If his majesty will thus permit learned honest men thus daily to be overcrowed and troden under foot with a sort of tyrannous or rather traytorous papists (who cannot abide to heare his majesties supremacy advanced, nor the sincere word of God preached) it were better for men to dwell amongst the infidels and miscreants then in England.

"What reason is this, that Turner should recant here in Kent the doctrine which in other countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing most desperately of five hundred mens consciences and above, (I dare say) who lately by his sincere preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the kings supremacy, and also of the reformed religion received? All good subjects may well lament the kings majesties estate in this behalfe, that no man may dare to bee so bolde to advance his highnesse title, but that every ignorant and malicious papist shall spurne against him, seeking his utter undoing, and that by the aid of papisticall justices set in authority. I beseech your worships to pardon mee of my rude and homely tearms. They herein deserve worse, if worse may be devised. For what honest man can beare with this, that so noble a princes cares, shall be thus impudently abused with manifest lies, and fables, as this one is of Turners comming home in

in such a triumph as they craftily and falsly had devised? It is easily to be spied what they meane and go about, that, the prince being alive, dare take in hand so uncourteously to abuse both the gentle nature of the prince, and his godly preacher, the avauncer and extoller of his just authoritie.

"What think your worships they would attempt if his majesty were at God's mercy (as God forefend that ever any of us should see that day, without better reformation) that can thus dally with his highnesse, blinding his eies with mistes, whilest he liveth and raigneth amongst us in most prosperity. As for my lord of Canterbury he dare nothing do for the poore mans delivery, he hath done so much for him already. And his grace hath tolde me plainely, that it is put into the kings head, that hee is the maintainer and supporter of all the hereticks within the realme; nor will not permit mee nor my neighbours to resort unto the councell for his purgation while he was at Chartham; saving only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a suter in writing to my friends and good masters in the court for his delivery.

"And therfore it is (right worshipfull) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to dicourse and open our misery unto you concerning the extream handling of this honest poore man M. Turner, that if it may possibly bee brought to passe by your godly wisdome, that the poore man may bee released and discharged of his recantation, you cannot doe to God and your prince a more acceptable service in my poore opinion. For otherwise if he should be driven to recant (as I am sure he will sooner die) both Gods cause and the kings shall suffer no small detriment amongst his poore loving subjects here. For if there be no better stay for the maintenance of these godly preachers, the

kings authoritie concerning his supremacie, shall lie post alone hidden in the Acte of parliament, and not in the harts of his subjects.

" If they can bring to passe that Turner may recant to the defacing of his good doctrin preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travailed. And yet in effect shall not Turner recant, but king Henry 8. in Turners person shal most odiously recant, to the wounding of all mens consciences here. If the kings majesty do not esteem his authority given to his highnesse by Gods word and his parliament, it were wel done, that the preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people therof, than thus to bee tossed and turmoiled for doing their dueties by the members of antichrist.

" And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever slander Turners doctrine here, they have indited him for offending against the six articles, this last sessions, by the witnes of two papists of the parish of Chartham his utter enemies, Sanders and Brown by name, for a sermon preached at Chartham on Passion Sunday, which chanced on S. Gregories eeven, they both being absent that day at Wye faire, as it is well proved, namely, for that he preached against the masse; saying, that our Savior Christ was the only sole priest which song masse on the altar of the crosse, there sacrificing for the sinnes of the world once for ever, and that all other masses were but remembrances and thankesgiving for that one sacrifice, or such wordes in effect.

" Wherefore, to conclude (right worshipfull) knowing your godly zeales, as well towardes the preferment of sincere religion, as your no lesse affection towards the king his majesties person and his godly proceedings, I most humbly beseech you in the bowels of our Saviour Christ, so to ponder

the

the weightie consideration of the premises, as by your travailes unto the kings majesty, or to the honourable councell, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towardes the observation of the lawe of God and the prince, through Turners godly persuasions, may receive from your worships some comfortable words of his deliverance; or else certainly many an honest and simple man lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the same, not without danger of their soules. In accomplishing wherof your worships shall not only doe unto Almighty God and the prince most true and acceptable service, but also binde the saide M. Turner, with all other to whom this cause doth appertaine, both daily to pray for your prosperities, and also to bee at your commandements during their lives. From Canturburie the second daie of November.

"Your worships evermore at
commandment, R. M."

And thus much containeth the letter sent (as is saide) by M. Morice to doctor Buts and sir Anthony Deny. Now, what successe and speede this letter had, it followeth to bee declared. For doctour Buts the kings physicion aforesayde, after the receipt of these letters, considering the weighty contents of the same, as hee was ever a forward friend in the gospels cause, so he thought not to foreslacke this matter to the uttermost of his diligence: and so spying his time, when the king was in trimming and in washing (as his maner was at certaine times to call for his barbar) doctor Buttes (whose maner was at such times ever to be present, and with some pleasant conceits to refresh and solace the kings minde) brought with him in his hand this letter. The king asking what newes, D. Buts pleasantly and merily beginneth to insi-

nuate unto the king the effect of the matter, and so at the kings commandement read out the letter: which when the king had heard, and paused a little with himself upon the same, he commanded again the letter to be read unto him. The hearing and consideration wherof so altered the kings minde, that wheras before he commanded the said Turner to be whipped out of the countrey, he now commanded him to be reteined as a faithfull subject. And here of that matter an end. Let us now returne to the archbishop againe.

Who although he was compassed about (as is sayde) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty traines impugned, yet through Gods more mightie providence, working in the kings hart so to favour him, he rubbed out all king Henries time without blemish or foile, by meanes of the kings supportation, who not only defended the said archbishop against all his conspired adversaries, but also extended such special favor unto him in such sort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom hee maried before at Noremberge (being niece to the wife of Osiander) keeping her also all the sixe articles time contrary to the law, notwithstanding he both permitted the same, and kept his counsell.

I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and raigne of K. Edward his son, after that first I shall intermit a few words touching the death of the said king Henrie, and the maner of the same. Who after long languishing, infirmitie growing more and more upon him, lay from saint Stevens day to the latter end of Januarie. His physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for feare of the act past before in parliament, that none should speake any thing of the kings death (the act being made onelie for soothsayers, and talkers of prophesies)

mooved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatall infirmitie. Which when the rest were in dread to do, master Denie who was speciallie attendant upon him, boldlie comming to the king, tolde him what case hee was in, to mans judgement not like to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himselfe to death, calling himselfe to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betime for grace and mercie, as becommeth everie good christian man to doe.

Although the king was loth to heare any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of his physicians, and feeling his owne weaknesse, hee disposed himselfe more quietlie to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past. Which although he much accused "Yet" (said he) "is the mercie of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they be." Master Deny being glad to heare him thus to speake, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer withall, and to open his minde unto. To whome the king answered againe, that if he had any, he would have doctor Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore master Denie asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first said the king take a little sleepe, and then as I feele my selfe, I will advise upon the matter."

After an houre or two, the king awaking, and feeling feeblenes to increase upon him, commanded doctor Cranmer to bee sent for: but before he could come, the king was speechlesse, and almost senselesse. Notwithstanding, perceiving doctor Cranmer to bee come, hee reaching his hand to doctor Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could utter no words unto him, and scarse was able to make any signe.

signe. Then the archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercie, desired him, though hee could not speake, yet to give some token with his eies or with his hand, as he trusted in the Lord. Then the king holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his, as hard as he could, and so shortly after departed, after hee had raigned in this land the tearme of 37. yeres and 9. moneths, leaving behinde him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

After the death of K. Henry, immediately succeeded his son King Edward, under whose government and protection the state of this archbishop being his godfather, was nothing appaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this meane time of K. Henry aforesaid, untill the entring of K. Edward, it seemeth that Cranmer was scarcely yet throughly perswaded in the right knowledge [5] of the sacrament, or

[5] *In the right knowledge.*] There are few readers who will not admire the sober and pious language of this excellent man, on occasion of its being objected to him, by Dr. Richard Smith, that he had mantained in his *Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, printed in 1548, the doctrine of the carnal presence. After denying the truth of Smith's allegation, he thus proceeds: "But this I confesse of myselfe, that not long before I wrot the sayd catechisme, I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many yeares past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the masse, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome, being brought up from youth in them, and nouseled therein for lacke of good instruction from my youth; the outragious floods of papisticall errors at that tyme overflowing the world. For the which, and other myne offences in youth, I do dayly pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying, *delicta juventutis meæ, et ignorantias meas, ne memineris Domine*, Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.

"But after it had pleased God to shew unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his sonne Jesus Christ, from

or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same: wherin shortly after he being more groundly confirmed by conference with bishop Ridley, in processe of time did so profit in more riper knowledge, that at last hee tooke upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down first the corporall presence; secondly, the phantasticall transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men do eate the naturall bodie of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the masse. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five bookes for the publick instruction of the church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth and is received in this church of England.

Against these five bookes of the archbishop, Steven Gardiner, the arche-enemie to Christ and his gospel, being then in the Tower, slubbereth up a certaine answere such as it was, which he in open court exhibited up at Lambeth, being there examined by the archbishop aforesaide and other the kings commissioners in K. Edwards daies, which booke was intituled, *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholick Faith, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written against the same.*

from tyme to tyme as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened myne eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugne unto God, and remayne in darkenese. And I trust in God's mercy, and pardon for my former errors, bicause I erred but of frailnes and ignorance. And now I may say of my selfe as S. Paule sayd, When I was like a babe or childe in the knowledge of Christ, I spake like a childe, and understood like a childe; but now that I come to mans estate and growing in Christ through his grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness." Answer to Smithes Preface, subjoined to his answer to Gardiner, p. 402, edit. 1580.

Against

Against this explication, or rather a cavilling sophistication of Steven Gardiner doctor of lawe, the archbishop of Canturbury learnedly and copiously replying againe, maketh answere, which also he published abroad to the eies and judgements of all men in print. All which writings and bookes, as well of the one part as of the other, our present storie would require here to bee inserted: but because to prosecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a small roome, and may make too long tariance in our story, it shall therefore bee best to put off the same unto the place of the Appendix following[6], wherein (the Lord willing) wee intend to close up both these, and divers other treatises of these learned martyrs, as to this our story shall appertaine.

The unquiet spirit of Steven Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another booke in Latine of the like popish argument, but after another title, named Marcus Anthonius Constantinus. Wherunto first the archbishop again intending a full confutation, had already absolved three parts of his answere lying in prison. Of the which parts, two perished in Oxford: the other yet remaineth in my hands readie to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also bishop Ridley lying likewise the same time in prison having there the saide book of Marcus Antonius, for lacke of pen and paper, with a leade of a window

[6] *The Appendix following.*] This part of Fox's design was never executed; but in the year 1580, John Day printed, I apprehend under the direction of Fox, a second edition of Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner's Sophistical Cavillation*; which book, according to a method of conducting controversies not unusual in those days (the *spirit* of which, though not the *letter*, may and ought to be the subject of applause and imitation to our own, and every age) contains the whole of his own first work (The Defence), together with the whole of Gardiner's attack upon it (The Explication and Assertion.)

in

in the margent of the booke wrote annotations, as straightnesse of time would serve him, in refutation of the same book. And finally because these worthy martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to goe through with that travaile, that which lacked in them, for accomplishment of that behalfe, was was supplied shortly after by Peter Martir, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defension of the truth, against the false sophistication of Marcus Antonius aforesaid.

Besides these bookes above recited of this archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing, as the book of the Reformation[7], the catechisme,

[7] *The book of the Reformation.*] By this book is meant the *Liturgy*, as sufficiently appears from Bale's *Centuries*, p. 691, and Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 489, 490, edit. 2d. By the "Catechisme," might be intended, either the *Catechism of King Edward*, or the *Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, a work, notwithstanding its title, in size much surpassing the former, amounting to not less than five hundred pages. Fox is not in the habit of distinguishing very accurately between these two books, and therefore, I say, either of them *might* have been intended by this appellation. But there is reason to think, that, in this place, the former, along with the 42 articles, was meant to be designated. Of neither, however, can it be properly said, that they were solely and strictly "of his doing;" though Cranmer was, no doubt, in good degree, responsible for the contents of both. Of the latter he was *the translator*: the former has been usually attributed to Ponet bishop of Winchester; but it certainly passed through a *review* by Ridley, and probably by Cranmer.

Who the authors were of the book of Homilies has never been fully ascertained. Of the second book, published in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, I am not aware, that the writer of any single Homily has been indubitably specified. With regard to the first part, we may, I think, agree with Strype, who says, "the Homily of Salvation particularly *seems* to be of his own doing." (Life of Cranmer, p. 149.) And the same may perhaps reasonably be *conjectured* of the second Homily, *of the misery of all mankind*; of the fourth, *of the true and lively faith*; and of the fifth, *of good works*. In the twelfth, *against contention*

catechisme, with the book of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Wherunto also may be adjoined an other writing or confutation of his against 88. articles by the convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received, in the raigne and time of king Henry the 8.

And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travels of this archbishop of Canturbury during the lives both of king Henry, and of K. Edward his son. Which two kings so long as they continued, this archbishop lacked no stay of maintenance against all his maligners.

Afterward, this K. Edward, a prince of most worthy towardnesse falling sicke, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painefull disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his sister Marie was wholly wedded to the popish religion, bequeathed the succession of this realme to the ladie Jane (a ladie of great birth but of greater learning, being niece to king Henry the eight by his sister) by consent of the councell and lawyers of this realme. To this testament of the kings, when all the nobles of the realme, states and judges had subscribed: they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also, would subscribe. But he excusing himselfe on this maner, said: "that it was otherwise in the testament of king Henry his father, and that he had sworne to the succession of Marie, as

contention and brawling, many, I apprehend, will think that they see the honest, good-humoured pen of Latimer. But of the twelfth in three parts, *Against Whoredom and Adultery*, there can be no doubt, but that it was the work of Thomas Becon, one of Cranmer's chaplains. I do not recollect that this circumstance has been before noticed. But in Becon's works, collected together, and published by himself A. D. 1564, the Homily in question may be found, vol. i. fol. 157, &c.

then

then the next heire, by which oath he was so bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it." The councell answered, "that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conscience as well as he, and moreover that they were sworne to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more perill of perjury than the rest."

To this the archbishop aunswered, "that he was judge of no mans conscience but his owne: and therefore as he would not be prejudiciall to others, so hee would not commit his conscience unto other mens factes, or cast himselfe into danger, seeing that everie man should give account of his owne conscience and not of other mens. And as concerning subscription, before he had spoken with the king himselfe, he utterly refused to doe it."

The king therefore being demanded of the archbishop concerning this matter, saide, "That the nobles and lawyers of the realme councelled him unto it, and perswaded him that the bond of the first testament could nothing let, but that this lady Jane might succeed him as heire, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen." Who then demanding leave of the king, that hee might first talke with certaine lawyers that were in the court, when they all agreed that by law of the realme it might be so, returning to the king, with much ado, he subscribed[8].

At

[8] *He subscribed.*] Cranmer, in a letter to the queen, gives the following account of this transaction.

"I am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowfull heart, to aske mercy and pardon for my haynous folly and offence, in consenting and followyng the testament and last will of our late soveraigne lorde king Edward

As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July in the year of our Lord 1553, about three hours before his death, this godly

Edward the sixth your graces brother, which will God knoweth, God he knoweth, I never liked, nor never any thing greved me so much that your graces brother did, and if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it, and what I said therein, as well to his counsell as to himselfe, divers of your majesties counsell can report, but none so well as the marquis of Northampton, and the lord Darcy then lord chamberlayne to the kinges majesty, which two were present at the communication between the kinges majestye and me. I desired to talke with the kinges majesty alone, but I could not be suffered, so I failed of my purpose, for if I might have commoned with the king alone, and at good leisure, my trust was that I should have altered hym from that purpose, but they being present my labour was in vayne. Then when I could not dissuade him from the sayd will, and both he and his privy counsell also informed me the judges and the learned counsell sayde, that the acte of entailynge the crowne made by his father, could not be prejudiciall to him, but he being in possession of the crowne, might make his will thereof; this seemed very straunge unto me, but being the sentence of the judges, and other learned his counsell in the lawes of this realme (as both he and his counsell informed me) methought it became not me being unlearned in the law to stande against the prince therein, and so at length I was required by the kings majesty himself to set to my hand to his will, saying that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will, than the rest of the counsel were (which words surely greved my harte very sore) and I graunted him to subscribe his wil, and to followe the same, which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfainedly and withoute dissimulation: for the which I submit myselfe most humbly unto your majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grevous and sorrowful hart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon, which my hart giveth me, shall not be denied unto me, being graunted before to so many which travailed not so much to dissuade the king and his counsell as I did." Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 2. A. D. 1564.

childe

childe[9], his eyes being closed, speaking to himselfe, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer as followeth:

"Lord God deliver mee out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to Thee. O Lord, thou knoweth how happy it were for me to bee with Thee. Yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health, that I may truely serve Thee. O my Lord God, blesse thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realme from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Sonne Jesus Christes sake."

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought you had been further off." Then doctor Owen said,

[9] *This godly childe.*] William Thomas, afterwards clerk of the council, and much employed in assisting the studies of king Edward, thus describes him, in a work written in the first year of his reign.

"Alas (quoth I) yf you knew the towardnes of that young prince, your heart would melt to heare him named, and your stomacke abhorre the malice of them that would him yll: the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sunne, the liveliest, the most amiable, the gentlest thing of all the world; such a spirite of capacitie in learning the things taught him by his schoolemasters, that it is a wonder to heare say: and finally, he hath such a grace of porte and gesture in gravitie, when he cometh into any presence, that it should seeme he were already a father; and yet passeth he not the age of ten yeares, a thing undoubtedly much rather to be seene, than beleeved. Alas! (quoth I), nay alas agayne, what crueltie should move these ravening dragons, to covet the devouring of so meeke and innocent a lambe with the sedition of such develish rumours!" *Apologie for king Henrie the eighth.* Lambeth Library. MSS. N° 464. P. 129.

wee

"wee heard you speake to yourselfe, but what you said we know not." Hee then, after his fashion, smilingly, said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint. Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." And thus he yeelded up the ghost, being almost sixteen yeeres old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamitie of the whole realme. After whose decease immediately it was commaunded that the ladie Jane (which was unwilling thereunto) should be proclaimed queene. Which thing much misliked the common people: not that they did so much favor Mary, before whom they saw the lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some, whom they could not favor.

Besides this, other causes there happened also of discord betweene the nobles and the commons the same time: for what injuries of commons and enclosures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing betweene the landlords, and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine thus the matter fell out, that Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and shifting for her selfe, was so assisted by the commons, that eftsoones she prevailed. Who being established in the possession of the realme, not long after came to London, and after shee had caused first the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland and the duke of Suffolke to be executed, likewise she caused the ladie Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after she could by no meanes be turned from the constancy of her faith, together with her husband to be beheaded.

The rest of the nobles paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted. Who though he desired pardon (by means of friends) could obtaine none: insomuch that the

queene

queene would not once vouchsafe to see him. For as yet the olde grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed: all which was imputed to the archbishop, as the chiefe cause thereof.

While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all mens mouthes, that the archbishop, to curry favor with the queene, had promised to say a dirige masse after the olde custome, for the funerall of K. Edward her brother. Neither wanted there some which reported that he had already said masse at Canturbury: which masse indeed was sayd by D. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stay, gave forth a writing in his purgation.

Here ensueth a Purgation of Thomas Archbishop of Canturbury, against certaine Slanders lately raised upon him.

"As the divell Christs ancient adversary, is a lier and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members, to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory king Henry the 8. seeing the great abuses of the Latine masse, refourmed some things therin in his life time, and after our late soveraigne lord K. Edward the sixt, tooke the same whole away for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christs holy supper according to Christes owne institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church:

church: the divell goeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lords supper againe, and to restore his Latine satisfactorie masse, a thing of his owne invention and devise. And to bring the same more easily to passe, som have abused the name of me Thomas archbishop of Canturbury, bruting abroad that I have set up the masse again at Canturbury, and that I offered to say masse at the burial of our late soveraign prince K. Edward 6. and that I offered also to say masse before the queenes highnes and at Pauls church, and I wot not where. And although I have bin well exercised these twenty yeares to suffer and beare evill reports and lies, and have not bin much greeved therat, but have born al things quietly: yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of Gods truth, they are in no wise to bee suffered. Wherefore these be to signifie unto the world, that it was not I that did set up the masse at Canturbury, but it was a false flattering, lying and dissembling monk, which caused masse to bee set up there without mine advice or counsel: *Reddat illi dominus in die illo.* And as for offering my selfe to say masse before the queenes highnes or in any other place, I never did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace wil give me leave, I shal be ready to proove, against al that wil say the contrary, that al that is contained in the holy communion set out by the most innocent and godly prince K. Edward the 6. in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our savior Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which his apostles and primitive church used many yeres: wheras the masse in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although

although many, either unlearned or malicious, doe report that M. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the queens highnes wil grant therunto, I with the said M. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shal chuse, wil by Gods grace take upon us to defend, not only the common praiers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our said soveraign lord K. Edward the 6. to bee more pure and according to Gods word, then any other that hath bin used in England these thousand yeeres, so that Gods word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofes of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as wel that all the world may examin and judge thereon, as that no man shal start back from his writing. And where they boast of the faith, that hath bin in the church these fifteen hundred yeares, we wil join with them in this point, and that the same doctrine and usage is to bee followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred yeares past: and we shall prove that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realme by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred yeares past; and so shall they be never able to prove theirs."

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, commeth in by chance M. Scory, bishop then of Rochester, who after he had read and perused the same, required of the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop when he had granted and permitted the same to M. Scory, by the occasion therof M. Scory lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out therof, and the thing published abroad among the common people; insomuch that everie scriveners shop almost, was occupyed in

writing and copying out the same; and so at length some of these copies comming to the Bishops hands, and so brought to the councell, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was knowen, and so he commanded to appeare[1].

Whereupon D. Cranmer at his day prefixed, appeared before the said commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop[2] of the queenes privy councel, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the bil, "My lord (said he) there is a bil put forth in your name, wherin you seeme to be agreeved with setting up the masse againe: we doubt not but you are sory that it is gone abroad."

To whom the archbishop answered againe, saying: "as I do not deny my selfe to bee the very authour of that bill or letter, so must I confesse here unto you, concerning the same bil, that I am sory that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, M. Scory got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sory, that it so passed my hands: for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample maner, and minded to have set it on

[1] *Commanded to appeare.*] "This present day (14th Sept. 1553.) Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the lords, as he was the day before appoynted, after long and seryous debating of his offence by the whole boarde, it was thought convenient, that, as well for the treason committed by him agenst the queen's highness, as for the aggravating of the same his offence, by spreding abrode sedycyous billes, moving tumultes to the disquietness of the present state, he shulde be committed to the Toure." Proceedings in the privy council in Haynes's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 184.

[2] *A bishop.*] "This bishop was Dr. Heath, bishop after of Yorke." Fox's Margin.

Pauls,

Pauls church door, and on the doores of all the churches in London, with mine owne seale joyned thereto."

At which words when they saw the constantnesse of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at that present to say unto him, but that shortly he should heare further. The saide bishop declared afterward to one of doctour Cranmers friends, that notwithstanding his attainder of treason, the queens determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his archbishoprick, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keepe his house without medling in matters of religion. But how that was true, I have not to say. This is certaine, that not long after this, he was sent unto the tower, and soone after condemned of treason[3]. Notwithstanding the queene, when she could not honestly denie him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and specially, seeing he last (of all other) subscribed to king Edwards request, and that against his owne will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresie: which liked the archbishop right well, and came to passe as he wished, because the cause was not now his owne, but Christs, not the queens, but the churches. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, til at length it was determined by the queene and the councell, that hee should be remooved from the tower where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors, and divines. And privily word was sent before to them of Oxford to prepare themselves and make them readie to dispute. And although

[3] *Condemned of treason.*] According to Stow and Grafton he was arraigned and condemned of treason at Guild-Hall, London, on the 13th of November, 1553.

the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest shewe of disputation, the murther of the man might be covered. Neither could their hasty speed of revengement abide any long delay: and therefore in all haste he was caried to Oxford.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions, and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, because sufficiently it hath been declared[4], wee minde now therefore to proceede to his finall judgement and order of condemnation, which was the twelfth day of September an. 1555, and seven daies before the condemnation of bishop Ridley and M. Latimer, as is above foretouched. The story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (comming by chance to our hands) of one who being both present therat, and also a devout favorer of the sea and faction of Rome, can lacke no credit (I trowe) with such, which seeke what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their phantasied religion of Rome.

After the disputations done and finished in Oxford between the doctors of both universities and the three worthy bishops D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, yee heard then how sentence condemnatory immediatly upon the same was ministred against them by doctor Weston and other of the universitie: wherby they were judged to be hereticks, and so committed to the maior and sheriffs of Oxford. But forasmuch as the sentence given them, was voide in lawe (for at that time the au-

[4] *It hath been declared.*] See *Life of Latimer*, p. 123.

thoritie

thoritie of the pope was not yet received into the land) therefore was a new commission sent from Rome, and a new processe framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned men aforesaide. In which commission, first was doctor James Brooks bishop of Glocester the popes subdelegate, with doctor Martin, and doctor Storie, commissioners in the king and queens behalfe, for the execution of the same. Of the which three commissioners above named, as touching doctor Martin, this by the way is to bee understand, that although he was used for an instrument of the popes side, to serve a turne (whose booke also is extant against the lawfull marriage of priests) yet notwithstanding neither was he so bitter an enemie in this persecution, as other commissioners were: and also in this time of Q. Elizabeth, where divers other doctors of the arches refused to be sworne against the pope, he denied not the oath: and yet notwithstanding not altogether here to be excused. But to the purpose of this story. Wherof first it shall be requisite to declare the circumstance, and the whole state of the matter, as in a general description, before we come to their orations, according as in a parcell of a certaine letter touching the same, it came to our hands.

In primis, here is to be understand, that after the comming down of the foresaid commissioners, which was upon Thursdaie[5], the twelfth of September an. 1555 in the church of S. Mary, and in the

[5] *Upon Thursdaie.*] There was a previous meeting of the commissioners in St. Mary's church, on Monday, Sept. 9th, as appears from bishop Brookes's official report of this whole process, transmitted by him to Rome, to the cardinal *De Puteo*, whose delegate he was. The business of that day was to open the commission, to cite the archbishop, and to agree upon other preliminaries. Lambeth MSS. N°. 1136.

cast

east end of the said church at the high altar, was erected a solemne scaffold for bishop Brookes aforesaide, representing the popes person, ten foot high. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the popes delegate beneath him sate doctor Martin, and on the left hand sate doctour Storie the king and queens commissioners, which were both doctors of the civill lawe, and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and pharisies also. with the popes collectour, and a rabblement of such other like.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificalibus, the bishop of Canturbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himselfe. He came forth of the prison to the church of saint Mary, fetched forth with billes and gleves for feare least he shold start away, being clothed in a faire blacke gowne, with his hoode on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinitie in the universitie use to weare. Who after hee was come into the church, and did see them sit in their pontificalibus, hee did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the proctors for the pope, or else his doctour, called "Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, appear here and make answere to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemie, incontinencie, and heresie; and make answere heere to the bishop of Glocester, representing the popes person."

Upon this he being brought more neere unto the scaffolde where the foresaid bishop sate, he first well viewed the place of judgement, and spying where the king and queenes majesties proctors were, putting off his cap, he first humblie bowing his knee

knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the bishop in the face, hee put on his bonet againe, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the bishop being offended, saide unto him that it might beseeme him right well, weying the authoritie he did represent, to doe his dutie unto him. Whereunto doctor Cranmer answered and said, that he had once taken a solemne othe, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Romes authoritie into this realme of England againe, and that he had done it advisedlie, and meant by Gods grace to keepe it, and therefore would commit nothing either by signe or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said bishop to judge of him; and that he did it not for anie contempt to his person, which hee coulde have beene content to have honored as wel as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good an authoritie as theirs. This answered he both modestlie, wiselie, and patientlie, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the popes person, which was wonderously of the people marked that was there present and saw it, and marked it as nye as could be possible.

When after manie meanes used, they perceived that the archbishop would not moove his bonet, the bishoppe proceeded in these wordes following.

"My lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding our selves by our own authoritie, but sent by commission, partlie from the popes holines, partlie from the king and queenes most excellent majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort, if you will your selfe. We come not to judge you,

but

but to put you in remembrance of that you have beene, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certaine matters: which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The first being well taken, shall make the second to be well taken. For if you of your part be mooved to come to a conformity, then shall not onelie we of our side take joy of our examination, but also they that have sent us.

" And first, as charitie doth moove us, I would thinke good, somewhat to exhort you, and that by the second chapter of saint John in the Apocalypse, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and doe the first workes, or if not*; and so as yee know what followeth: Remember your selfe from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the universall and catholick church of Christ, from the verie true and received faith of all Christendome, and that by open heresie. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelitie and allegeance, and that by open preaching, marriage and adulterie. You have fallen from your soveraigne prince and queene by open treason. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seene. Wherefore when I say, remember from whence you have fallen, I put you in minde not onelie of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were sometime as I and other poore men, in a meane estate. God I take to witnesse, I speake it to no reproch or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a lowe to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you *Legatum natum, Metropolitanum Angliæ, Pastorem gregis sui.* Such great trust

trust did he put you in, in his church. What could he doe more? for even as hee ordained Moses to be a ruler over his church of Israel, and gave him full authoritie upon the same; so did hee make you over his church of England. And when did hee this for you? forsooth when you gave no occasion or cause of mistrust either to him, or to his magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in al your time, ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up of purpose as a fitt instrument, whereby the church might be spoiled and brought into ruine, yet may it appeare by manie your doings otherwise, and I for my part, as it behooveth each one of us, shall thinke the best. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? Who was thought to have more conscience of a vow making, and observing the order of the church, more earnest in the defence of the reall presence of Christes bodie and bloud in the sacrament of the aultar, then yee were? and then all things prospered with you: your prince favored you, yea God himselfe favoured you: your candlesticke was set up in the highest place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church: I would God it had so continued still.

"But after ye began to fall by schisme, and would not acknowledge the popes holines as supreame head, but would stoutlie upholde the unlawfull requests of king Henry the 8. and would beare with that should not be borne withall, then began you to fansie unlawfull libertie, and when you had exiled a good conscience, then ensued great shipwracke in the sea, which was, out of the true and catholike church, cast into the sea of desperation, for as hee saith, *Extra ecclesiam non est salus*, without the church there is no salvation.

When

When yee had forsaken God, God forsooke you, and gave you over to your owne will, and suffered you to fall from schisme to apostasie, from apostasie to heresie, and from heresie to perjurie, from perjurie to treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of our soveraigne prince, which you may thinke a just punishment of God, for your other abhominable opinions.

" After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honor and life. For if the light of your candle be as it hath beene hitherto duskey, your candlestick is like to be remooved, and have a great fall, so lowe, and so farre out of knowledge, that it shall bee quite out of Gods favor, and past all hope of recoverie: *Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio,* for in hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say: *Memor esto unde excideris,* remember from whence thou hast fallen. I adde also, and whither you fall.

" But heere peradventure you will say to me, what sir, my fal is not so great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the catholike church. For that is not the catholike church that the pope is head of. There is another church. But as touching that, I answere: you are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they saide that they had the true church, and that the name of the true christians remained onelie in Aphricke, where onelie their seditious sect was preached: and as you think, so thought Novatus, that all they that did acknowledge their supreame head at the sea of Rome, were out of the church of Christ. But heere saint Cyprian defending Cornelius against Novatus, saith on this wise: *Ecclesia una est, quæ cum sit una, intus et foris esse non potest.* So that if Novatus were in the true church, then was not Cor-

Cornelius, who in deed by lawfull succession, succeeded pope Fabian. Heere S. Cyprian intendeth by the whole processe to proove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true church was onelie Rome. Gather you then what will followe of your fall.

" But you will saie peradventure, that ye fell not by heresie; and so said the Arrians, alledging for themselves that they had scripture, and going about to perswade their schisme by scripture, for in deed they had more places by two and fortie, which by their torture seemed to depend upon scripture; then the catholikes said. So did the Martians provoke their heresie to scripture. But those are no scriptures, for they are not truelie alledged, nor truelie interpreted, but untruelie wrested and wroong, according to their owne fantasies. And therefore were they all justly condemned, for their wrong taking of the scriptures, and the church replieth against them, saying, what make you heer in my heritage? from whence came you? the scripture is my inheritage. I am right heire thereof. I holde it by true succession of the apostles; for as the apostles required mee to holde, so do I hold it. The apostles have received mee, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as bastards, having no title thereunto.

" Also yee will denie that you have fallen by apostasie, by breaking your vow; and so Vigilantius saide, insomuch that he would admit none to his ministerie, but those that had their wives bagged with children What now? shall we say that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? did not Donatus, and Novatus fall, because they said so, and brought scripture for their defence? then let us beleeve as we list, pretending well, and say so: nay there is no man so blinde that will say so. For except the church which condemneth them for their say so, doe

doe approve us for to doe so, then will shee condemne you also. So that your deniall will not stand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye have fallen, and how low yee shall fall, if you hold on as you doe begin. But I trust you will not continue, but revoke your selfe in time, and the remedie followeth.

" *Age pœnitentiam et prima opera fac*, repent, and doe thy first works; for by such meanes as ye have fallen, ye must rise againe. First, your hart hath fallen, then your tongue and your penne, and, besides your own damage, hath caused many more to fall. Therefore, first your hart must turn, and then shall the tongue and the pen be quicklie turned: *Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, et movebo Canaelabrum tuum de loco suo.*

" I neede not to teach you a methode to turne: you know the readie way your self. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way should soone be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abhominable heresie, into the way of perdition, I doubt not but very conscience would moove you, as much for them, as for your selfe to come againe. And so would you spare neither tongue nor penne, if heart were once reformed: for as touching that point, the Holie Ghost toucheth their hearts very neere by the mouth of his holie prophet Ezechiell, when he requireth the bloud of his flocke at the priests hands, for lacke of good and wholesome foode: How much more should this touch your guiltie heart, having overmuch diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them with baggage, and corrupt foode, which is heresie. *He that shall convert a sinner from his wicked life, shall save his soule from death, and shall cover the multitude of sinnes.* So that if it be true that he, who

who converteth a sinner, saveth a soule, then the contrarie must needs be true, that he that perverteth a soule, and teacheth him the way of perdition, must needs be damned.

"*Origenes super Paulum ad Romanos:* The damnation of those that preach heresie, dooth increase to the day of judgement. The more that perish by heretical doctrine, the more grievous shall their torment bee, that minister such doctrine. Berengarius who seemed to feare that danger, provided for it in his life time, but not without a troubled and disquiet conscience. He did not onelie repent, but recant, and not so much for himselfe, as for them whome he had with most pestilent heresies infected. For as he lay in his death bed upon Epiphany day, he demanded of them that were present, Is this (quoth he) the day of Epiphany, and appearing of the Lord? They answered him, yea. Then (quoth he) this day shall the Lord appeare to me, either to my comfort, either to my discomfort. This remorse argueth, that hee feared the danger of them whome he had taught, and led out of the faith of Christ. Origenes upon him saith in this wise: Although his owne bloud was not uppon his head, for that he did repent, and was sorrie for his former errors, yet being converted, he feared the bloud of them, whome hee had infected, and who received his doctrine.

"Let this move you even at the last point. Insomuch as your case is not unlike to Berengarius, let your repentance be like also. And what should stay you (tell mee) from this godlie returne? feare, that ye have gone so far, yee may not returne? nay, then I may say as David said? Ye feare where ye have no cause to feare. For if ye repent and be heartilie sory for your former heresie and appos-

appostasie, yee need not to feare. For as God of his part is mercifull and gracious to the repentant sinner, so is the king, so is the queene merciful, which ye may well perceive by your own case, since ye *might have suffered* a great whiles agoe for treason *committed* against her highnesse, but that yee *have beene* spared, and reserved upon hope of amendment, which she conceived very good of you, but now as it seemeth is but a very desperate hope. And what doe you thereby? *according to the hardnes of your heart yee treasure up to your selfe anger in the day of wrath.*

" Well, what is it then if feare do not hinder you? shame, to unsay that, that you have said? Nay, it is no shame, unlesse ye thinke it shame to agree with the true and the catholike church of Christ. And if that be shame then blame saint Paul who persecuted the disciples of Christ with the sword: then blame saint Peter, who denyed his master Christ with an othe that he never knew him. S. Cyprian before his returne being a witch; S. Augustine being nine yeeres out of the church; they thought it no shame after their returne of that they had returned. Shall it then be shame for you to convert and consent with the church of Christ? No, no.

" What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanitie of the world, I for my part judge it not in you being a man of learning and knowing your estate.

" And as for the losse of your estimation, it is ten to one that where you were archbishop of Canturburie, and metropolitane of England, it is ten to one (I say) that ye shall be as wel still, yea and rather better.

" And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but al that be heere present, and the whole

whole congregation of Christes church also will more rejoice of your returne, then they were sorry for your fall. And as for the other, yee neede not to doubt, for they shall all come after: and to say the truth, if you should lose them for ever it were no force, ye should have no losse therby at all. I doe not here touch them which should confirme your estimation. For as saint Paule after his conversion was received into the church of Christ, with wonderfull joy to the whole congregation, even so shall you be. The fame of your returne shall be spreade abroad throughout all christendome, where your face was never knowne.

"But you will say perhaps, your conscience will not suffer you. My Lord, there is a good conscience and there is a bad conscience. The good conscience have not they as S. Paule declareth to Timothie concerning Hymeneus and Alexander. The evill and bad conscience is (saith S. Cyprian) well to bee knowne by his marke. What marke? This conscience is marked with the print of heresie. This conscience is a naughtie, filthie, and a branded conscience, which I trust is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you then so, or else would I never goe about to perswade or exhort you. But what conscience should stay you to returne to the catholike faith and universall church of Christ? what conscience doth separate you to that divelish and severall church? to a libertie which never had grounde in the holie scriptures? If you judge your libertie to be good, then judge you all Christendome to doe evill besides you.

"O what a presumptuous perswasion is this, upon this utterlie to forsake the church of Christ? Under what colour or pretence do you this? For the abuses? as though in your church were no abuses: yes that there were. And if you forsake

the universall church for the abuses, why doe you not then forsake your particular church, and so be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the church for the abuses: for if you had seene abuses, you should rather have endevoured for a reformation then for a defection. He is a good chirurgeon, who for a little paine in the toe will cut off the whole leg. He helpeth well the tooth ache, which cutteth a way the head by the shoulders. It is meere follie to amend abuses by abuses. Ye are like Diogenes: for Diogenes on a time envying the cleanlines of Plato, said on this wise, *Ecce calco fastum Platonis.* Plato answered, *Sed alio fastu.* So that Diogenes seemed more faultie of the two.

"But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will say, I will not returne. And to that I say, I will not answer. Neverthelesse heare what Christ saith to such obstinate and stifnecked people in the parable of the supper. When he had sent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bad his servants going into the waies and streetes, to compell men to come in. If then the church will not leese anie member that may bee compelled to come in, ye must thinke it good to take the compulsion, least you lose your part of the supper which the Lord hath prepared for you: and this compulsion standeth well with charitie.

"But it may be perhaps, that some hath animated you to stick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that yee shall die in a good quarrell, and God shall accept your oblation. But heare what Christ saith of a meaner gift: *if thou come to the aultar to offer thy oblation, and knowest that thy brother hath somewhat to say against thee, leave*

leave there thy gift, and goe and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift, or else thy brother will make thy offering unsavourie before God. This he said unto all the world, to the end they should know how their offerings should bee received, if they were not according.

" Remember you therefore before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the church of Rome, and also of England, where not one onelie brother, but a number have matter against you, so just that they will make your burnt offering to stinke before God, except you bee reconciled. If you must needes appoint upon a sacrifice, make yet a meane first to them that have to lay against you. I say no more then the church hath allowed me to say. For the sacrifice that is offered without the church, is not profitable. The premisses therefore considered, for Gods sake, I say, *Memor esto unde exciderís, et age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac. Sin minus*, &c. Cast not your self away, spare your bodie, spare your soule, spare them also whome you have seduced, spare the sheading of Christs bloud for you in vaine. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yeelde to the prescript word of God, to the catholike church of Rome, to the received veritie of all christendome. Wed not your selfe to your owne selfewill. Stand not too much in your owne conceite, thinke not your selfe wiser then all christendome is besides you. Leave off this unjust cavill. How? leave what? leave reason, leave wonder, and beleeve as the catholike church doth beleeve and teach you. Perswade with your selfe, that without the church there is no salvation. And thus much have I said of charitie. If this poore simple exhortation of mine may sinke into your head, and take effect with you, then have

I said as I would have said, otherwise not as I would, but as I could for this present."

And thus bishop Brooks finishing his oration, sate down. After whome, doctor Martin taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Doctor Martin.

"Albeit there bee two governments, the one spirituall, and the other temporall, the one having the keies, the other the sword, yet in all ages we reade that for the honour and glory of God both these powers have beene adjoyned together. For if we reade the Old Testament, we shall finde that so did Josias and Ezekias. So did the king of the Ninivites compell a generall fast through all the whole citie. So did Darius in breaking the great idol, Bell, and delivered godlie Daniell out of the den of lyons. So did Nabuchodonosor make and institute lawes against the blasphemers of God. But to let passe these examples, with a great number moe, and to come to Christs time, it is not unknowne what great travaile, they tooke to set forth Gods honour: and although the rule and government of the church did onelie appertaine to the spiritualty, yet for the suppression of heresies and schismes, kinges were admitted as ayders thereunto. First, Constantinus the great, called a councell at Nice for the suppression of the Arrian sect, where the same time was raised a great contention among them. And after long disputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting downe of the Arrians, they referred their judgement to Constantine. God forbid, quoth Constantine: you ought to rule me, and not I you. And as Constantine did, so did Theodosius against the Nestorians, so did Marcianus against Manicheus. Jovinian

Jovinian made a law, that no man should marry with a nunne, that had wedded her selfe to the church.

" So had king Henry the eight the title of Defender of the faith, because he wrote against Luther and his complices. So these 900. yeres the kings of Spaine had the title of Catholike, for the expulsion of the Arrians: and to say the truth, the king and queenes majesties doe nothing degenerate from their auncetry, taking upon them to restore again the title to be defender of the faith, to the right heyre thereof, the popes holinesse.

" Therefore these two princes, perceiving this noble realme, how it hath beene brought from the unitie of the true and catholike church, the which you and your confederates do, and have renounced; perceiving also that you doe persist in your detestable errours, and will by no meanes be revoked from the same, have made their humble request and petition to the popes holinesse Paulus the fourth, as supreame head of the church of Christ, declaring to him, that where you were archbishop of Canturburie, and metropolitane of England, and at your consecration tooke two solemne othes, for your due obedience to bee given to the sea of Rome, to become a true preacher, or pastor of his flocke, yet contrary to your oathe, and alleageance, for unity, have sowed discord; for chastity, mariage and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, yee have been the author of all mischiefe. The popes holines. considering their request, and petition, hath granted them, that according to the censure of this realme, processe should be made against you.

" And whereas in this late time, you both excluded charitie and justice, yet hath his holinesse decreed, that you shall have both charitie and

justice shewed unto you. He willeth you should have the lawes in moste ample maner, to answere in your behalfe, and that you shall heere come before my lorde of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his holinesse, to the examination of such articles, as shall be proposed against you, and that wee should require the examination of you, in the king and queenes majestics behalfe. The king and queene as touching themselves, because by the law they cannot appear personallie, Quia sunt illustrissimæ personæ, have appointed as their attorneys doctor Story and me. Wherefore heere I offer to your good lordship our proxie, sealed with the broad seale of England, and offer my selfe to be proctor in the kings majesties behalfe. I exhibite here also certaine articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury: Also books of heresie made partlie by him, partlie set forth by his authoritie. And heere I produce him as partie principall, to answere to your good lordship."

Thus when doctor Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop beginneth, as heere followeth.

Cranm. "Shall I then make my answere?"

Martin. "As you thinke good, no man shall let you."

And heere the archbishoppe kneeling downe on both knees towards the west, said first the Lords praier. Then rising up he reciteth the articles of creede. Which done, he entreth with his protestation in forme as followeth.

The Faith and Profession of D. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canturbury, before the Commissoners.

"This I do professe as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will

I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have anie jurisdiction within this realme."

Story. "Take a note thereof."

Martin. "Marke D. Cranmer how you answere for your selfe. You refuse and deny him, by whose lawes yee yet do remaine in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the lawes of this realme."

Cran. "I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeede I confessed more at my arraignment then was true."

Martin. "That is not to be reasoned at this present. Ye know ye were condemned for a traitor, and *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur.* But proceede to your matter."

Cranmer. "My lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put mee in remembrance of many thinges touching my selfe, wherein, I doe not meane to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge Gods goodnesse to me in all his giftes, and thanke him as hartily for this state wherein I finde my selfe now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperitie: and it is not the losse of my promotions that grieveth mee. The greatest griefe I have at this time is, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, to see the king and queenes majesties by their proctors here to become my accusers, and that in their owne realme and countrey, before a forraine power. If I have transgressed the lawes of the land, their majesties have sufficient authority and power both from God, and by the ordinance of this realme to punish mee, whereunto I both have and at all times shall be content to submitte my selfe.

"Alas? What hath the pope to doe in England? whose jurisdiction is so farre different from the juris-

jurisdiction of this realme, that it is impossible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The lawes also are so divers, that whosoever sweareth to both, must needs incurre perjurie to the one. Which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I beare to her grace, I cannot but be hartily sory to thinke upon it, how that her highnesse the day of her coronation, at which time shee tooke a solemne othe to observe all the lawes and liberties of this realm of England, at the same time also tooke an othe to the bishop of Rome, and promised to maintaine that see. The state of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the pope, it was impossible but shee must needes be forsworne in the one. Wherein if hir grace had bin faithfully advertised by hir councell, then surely shee would never have done it.

"The lawes of this realme are, that the king of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his countries and dominions: and that he holdeth his crowne and scepter of himselfe, by the ancient lawes, customes, and descents of the kinges of the realme, and of none other. The pope sayth, that all emperours and kings hold their crownes and regalities of him, and that he may depose them when hee list: which is highe treason for any man to affirme and thinke, being borne within the kings dominions.

"The lawes of England are, that all bishops and priests offending in cases of felony or treason, are to bee judged and tried by the lawes and customes of the realme. The popes lawes are that the secular power cannot judge the spirituall power, and that they are not under their jurisdiction: which robbeth the king of the one part of his people.

"The

"The lawes also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the lawes of England for any other forraine lawes, ecclesiasticall or temporall, incurreth the daunger of a *Premunire*. The popes lawes are, that whosoever hindereth the proceedinges or executions of his lawes, for any other lawes of any other king or countrey, both the prince himselfe, his councell, all his officers, scribes, clearks, and whosoever give consent or ayde to the making or executing of any such lawes, standeth accursed. A heavie case (if his curse were any thing worth) that the king and queene cannot use their owne lawes, but they and all theirs must stand accursed." These things and many more examples he alledged, which (he sayd) stirred him that hee could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemie into the realm, so subverting the dignitie and ancient liberties of the same.

"And as for the matter of heresie, and schisme, wherewith hee was charged, he protested and called God to witnesse, that hee knew none that he maintained. But if that were an heresie to deny the popes authoritie, and the religion which the see of Rome hath published to the world these latter yeares, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apostles and Christ himselfe taught heresie: and he desired all them present to bear him witnesse, that he tooke the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole scripture: which hee had oftentimes well prooved by writing, and the author of the same to be verie antichrist, so often preached of by the apostles and prophetes, in whom did most evidently concur al. signes and tokens wherby he was painted out to the world to be knowne.

"For

" For it was most evident that he had advanced himselfe above all emperours and kinges of the world, whome he affirmeth to hold their states and empyres of him, as of their chiefe, and to be at his commandement to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure; and that the stories make mention of his intollerable and insolent pride, and tyranny, used over them in such sort, as no king would have used to his christian subjectes, nor yet a good maister to his servantes; setting his feete on the emperours necke, affirming that to be verified in him, which was spoken onely of our Savior Jesus Christ, in these words, *Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem.* Other some had he made to hold his styrrop, others he had displaced and remooved from their empires and seates royall: and not content herewithall, more insolent then Lucifer, hath occupied not onely the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further presumed to sit in the seate of Almighty God, which onely he reserved to himselfe, which is the conscience of man: and for to keepe the possession thereof, he hath promised forgivenesse of sins *totiens quotiens.*

" He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gaine and lucre, quite contrarie to the doctrine of the holy scripture, onely for the maintaining of his kingdome, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his people in a miserable servitude of blindnesse, to the losse of a great number of soules, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand: boasting many times in his canons and decrees, that he can dispense *Contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus & novum Testamentum:* and that hee *Plenitudine potestatis, tantum potest quantum Deus:* That is, Against Peter, against Paule, against the Old

Old and New Testament: and of the fulnes of power may doe as much as God. O Lord, who ever heard such blasphemie? If there bee any man that can advance himselfe above him, let him be judged antichrist.

"This enemie of God and of our redemption, is so evidently painted out in the scriptures by such manifest signes and tokens, which all so cleerely appeare in him, that except a manne will shut uppe his eyes and heart against the light, hee cannot but knowe him: and therefore for my part I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this church of England. And you my lord, and the rest that sit here in commission, consider well and examine your owne consciences: you have sworne against him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blinde. As for me, I have heerein discharged mine owne conscience towarde the world, and I will write also my mind to her grace, touching this matter.

"The bishop of Rome is contrarie to God, and injurious to his lawes: for God commanded all men to bee diligent in the knowledge of his law, and therefore hath appointed one holyday in the week in the least, for the people to come to the church and heare the word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better understand it, to heare it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrarie: for he willed the service to be had in the Latine tongue, which they doe not understand. God would have it to be perceived: the pope will not. When the priest giveth thankes, God would that the people should doe so too, and God will them to confesse altogether: the pope will not.

"Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the aultar.

aultar. For if it canne be proved by any doctor above a thousand yeares after Christ, that Christes bodie is there reallie, I will give over. My book was made seaven yeares agoe, and no man hath brought anye authors against it. I beleeve that who so eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativitie, passion, resurrection and ascension, but not that corporallie that sitteth in heaven.

" Now Christ commanded all to drinke of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the lay men, and yet one saith, that if Christ had dyed for the divell, that he should drinke thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the king. The bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey him: therefore unlesse he bee antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

" Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the pope. I speake not this for hatred I beare to him that supplieth the roome, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my conscience for the zeale that I beare to Gods word trodden under foote by the bishop of Rome. I cast feare apart, for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter daies they shold suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his names sake: *feare them not* (saith he) *but feare him which when he hath killed the bodie, hath power to cast the soule into fire everlasting.* Also Christ saith: *That hee that will live shall die, and hee that loseth his life for my names sake, he shall finde it againe.* Moreover he said, *Confesse me before men, and be not affraide: if you doe so, I will stand with you: if you shrinke from me, I will*

will shrinke from you. This is a comfortable and a terrible saying, this maketh mee to set all feare apart. I say therefore the bishop of Rome treadeth under foote God's lawes and the kings. And therefore say I, that hee is neither true to God, neither to the king, that first received the pope. But I shall heartilie pray for such counsellours, as may informe her the truth: for the king and queene if they be well informed, will do well."

" Mart. " As you understand then, if they maintaine the supremacie of Rome, they cannot maintaine England too."

Cran. " I require you, to declare to the king and queene what I have said, and how their othes do stand with the realme and the pope. S. Gregory saith, hee that taketh uppon him to be head of the universall church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can shew me, that it is not against Gods word to holde his styrop when hee taketh his horse, and kisse his feete (as kings do) then will I kisse his feet also.

" And you for your part my lord, are perjured, for now yee sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishoppricke of the king. You have taken an othe to be adversary to the realme: for the popes lawes are contrary to the lawes of the realme."

Glocester. " You were the cause that I did forsake the pope, and did sweare that he ought not to be supreame heade, and gave it to king Henry the eight, that he ought to bee it, and this you made me to do.

Cranmer. " To this I answere, said hee, you report mee ill, and say not the truth, and I will proove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessour bishoppe Wareham gave the supremacie

premacie [6] to king Henry the eight, and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that Gods word would beare him. And upon the same was there sent to both the universities Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would doe touching the supremacie, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both universities agreed, and set to their seales, and sent it to king Henry the eight, to the court, that he ought to be supreame head and not the pope. Whereupon you were then doctour of divinitie at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as your hand doth appeare. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope; but it was your selfe. All this was in bishop Warehams time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a yeare after ere ever I had the bishopricke of Canturbury in my hands, and before I might doe anie thing. So that heere ye have reported of me, that which yee cannot proove, which is evill done." All this while his cap was on his head.

Gloc. "We come to examine you, and you me think, examine us."

Doctor Stories Oration.

Story. "Pleaseth it your good lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queenes majesties to appoint my companion and me, to heare the examination of this man before your good lordship, to

[6] *Gave the supremacie.*] See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 725. This was on Feb. 11, 1530—1. The determinations of the universities, which did not take place, till the year 1534, are given in the same work, p. 771 and p. 775.

give

give me leave somewhat to talke in that behalfe. Although I know that in talke with heretikes there commeth hurt to all men, for it wearyeth the stedfast, troubleth the doubtfull, and taketh in snare the weake and simple: yet because he saith, he is not bound to answere your lordship sitting for the popes holinesse, because of a *premunire*, and the word of God, as he tearmeth it, I thinke good somewhat to say, that all men may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talke, such as heere I trust hath done much good. And as the king and queenes majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so wil they be weary to heare the blundering of this stubborne heretike. And where he alledgeth divinitie, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have beene heard. For shall it be sufficient for him to alledge, the judge is not competent? Doe we not see that in the common law it is not lawfull for a man in Westminster Hall to refuse his judge? And shall we dispute *contra eum qui negat principia?* Although there bee heere a great companie of learned men, that know it unmeete so to doe, yet have I heere a plaine canon, wherein he declareth himselfe convicted *ipso facto*. The canon is this, "Sit ergo ruinæ suo dolore prostratus quisquis Apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, sed exors à sancto fiat ministerio, nec de eo ejus judicio quisquam posthac curam habeat, quin jam damnatus à sancta & Apostolica Ecclesia sua inobedientia ac præsumptione à quoquam esse non dubitetur. Quin majoris excommunications dejectione est abjiciendus, cui sanctæ Ecclesiæ commissa fuerit disciplina, qui non solum jussionibus prefatæ sanctæ Ecclesiæ parere debuit, sed etiam aliis ne præterirent insinuare. Sitque alienus à divinis & pon-

& pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit præceptis Apostolicis obtemperare."

"He hath alledged manie matters against the supremacie, but malitiously. Ye say that the king in this realme is supreame head of the church. Well syr, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholike church, before any king was christned. Then if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof: for you know Constantinus was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are bound (as saint Paule saith) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of soules; for *a fortiori*, the head may doe that the minister cannot doe: but the priest may consecrate and the king cannot, therefore the king is not head.

"It was licensed by Christ to every man to bring into the sheepefold, and to augment the flocke, but not to rule, for that was onelie given to Peter.

"And where the apostles do call uppon men to obey their princes, *cui tributum, tributum, cui vectigal, vectigal*; they perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhorte them to obedience and paiment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth onelie to temporall matters.

"And againe, where you say that the bishop of Rome maketh lawes contrary to the lawes of the realme, that is not true, for this is a maxime in the lawe: *Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit universale falsum.*

"Now as touching that monstrous talke of your conscience, that is no conscience that ye professe; it is but *privata scientia, electio* and *secta*. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not prooved

prooved by Gods lawes that ye ought not to answer the popes holinesse.

" The canons which be received of all christendome compell you to answere, therefore you are bound so to do. And althogh this realme of late time, through such schismatiks as you were, have exiled and banished the canons, yet that cannot make for you. For you know your selfe, that *Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid statuere potest.* Wherefore this ile being in deed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding, the same lawes, being put away by a parliament, are now received againe by a parliament, and have as full authoritie now as they had then, and they will now that yee answere the popes holinesse: therefore by the lawes of this realme yee are bound to answere him. Wherefore my good Lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I cannot otherwise tearme him considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevaile with you nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answere directlie to your good lordshippe: commande him to set aside his trifles, and to bee obedient to the lawes and ordinances of this realme. Take witnesse heere of his stubborn contempt against the king and queenes majesties, and compel him to answere directlie to such articles, as we shall heere lay against him, and in refusall, that your good lordship will excommunicate him."

As soone as doctor Story had thus ended his tale, beginneth doctor Martin again to enter speech with the archbishop: which talke I thought heere likewise not to lette passe, althogh the report of the same be such, as the author thereof seemeth in his writing verye partiall; for as he expresseth the speech of doctor Martin at full, and to the

uttermoste

uttermoste of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could bee saide more; so againe on the other part, how rawe and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easie to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that doctour Cranmer againe answered for his defence, nor yet in those short speeches which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithfull reporter. Notwithstanding such as it is, I thought good the reader to understand, who in perusing the same, may use therin his own judgement and consideration.

Talke betweene D. Martin and the Archbishop.

"Maister Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending some matter of conscience in appearance, but in veritie you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworne once to king Henry the eight against the popes jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forsweare the same, and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the saide othe. Heere will I ask you a question or two. What if ye made an othe to an harlot to live with her in continuall adulterie, ought you to keepe it?"

Cran. "I thinke no."

Mar. "What if you did sweare never to lend a poore man one penny, ought you to keepe it?"

Cran. "I thinke not."

Martin. "Herod did sweare whatsoever his harlot asked of him hee would give her, and he gave her John Baptists head: did he well, in keaping his othe?"

Cran. "I thinke not"

Martin.

Martin. "Jepthe one of the judges of Israell did sweare unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he wold offer unto God the first soule that came forth of his house: it hapned that his owne daughter came first, and he slue her to save his othe. Did he well?"

Cran. "I thinke not."

Mart. "So saith S. Ambrose de officiis, it is a miserable necessitie, which is paid with parricide. Then master Crannmer, you can no lesse confesse by the premisses but that you ought not to have conscience of every othe, but if it be just, lawfull, and advisedlie taken?"

Cran. "So was that othe."

Mart. "That is not so; for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another mans right. It was not lawfull, for the lawes of God and the church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary, for every man and woman were compelled to take it?"

Cran. "It pleaseth you to say so."

Mart. "Let all the world be judge. But sir, you that pretend to have such a conscience to breake an oath, I pray you did you never sweare and breake the same?"

Cran. "I remember not."

Mart. "I will helpe your memorie. Did you never sweare obedience to the sea of Rome?"

Cran. "Indeed I did once sweare unto the same."

Mart. "Yea that ye did twise, as appeareth by recordes and writings heere readie to be shewed."

Cran. "But, I remember, I saved all by protestation [7] that I made by the counsaile of the best learned men I could get at that time."

[7] *By protestation.*] See Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 20. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 757, &c. &c.

Mart. "Hearken good people what this man saith. Hee made a protestation one day, to keepe never a whit of that which hee would sweare the next day: was this the part of a christian man? If a christian man would bargaine with a Turke, and before he maketh his bargaine solemnlie, before witnesse readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretlie in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that hee mindeth not to performe whatsoever hee shall promise to the Turke; I say, if a christian man would serve a Turk in this manèr, that the christian man were worse than the Turke. What would you then say to this man that made a solemne othe and promise unto God and his church, and made a protestation before quite contrary."

Cran. "That which I did, I did by the best learned mens advise I could get at that time."

Mart. "I protest before all the learned men heere, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein: for there bee two rules of the civill lawe cleane contrary against you," and so brought forth his rules, which being done, he proceeded further. "But will you have the truth of the matter. King Henrie the eight even then meant the lamentable change which after you see came to passe: and to further his pittifull proceedings from the divorcement of his most lawfull wife, to the detestable departing from the blessed unity of Christes church, this man made the foresaid protestation: and on the other side, hee letted not to make two solemne oathes quite contrarye, and why? for otherwise by the lawes and canons of this realme, hee could not aspire to the archbishoprick of Canturbury."

Cran. "I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwilling to a bishopricke, than I did

did to that. In so much that when king Henry did send for me in poste, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weekes at the least, thinking that he would be forgetfull of me in the meane time."

Mart. "You declare well by the way, that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not finde within all his realme any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was inforced to send for you in poste to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you beeing then queene Annes Chaplein, and the king: give me the archbishopricke of Canturburie, and I will give you licence to live in adulterie."

Cran. "You say not true."

Mart. "Let your protestation, joyned with the rest of your talke, give judgement. *Hinc prima mali labes.* Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefullie suffered adultery, came heresie and all mischiefe to this realme.

"And thus have I spoken as touching the conscience you make for breaking your hereticall othe made to the king. But to break your former othe made at two sundrie times both to God and his church, you have no conscience at all.

"And now to answere an other part of your oration, wherein you bring in Gods word, that you have it on your side and no man else, and that the pope hath devised a new scripture contrary to the scriptures of God: yee play herein as the Pharisies did, which cryed alwaies, *Verbum Domini, verbum Domini*; the word of the Lord, the word of the Lord, when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you say you have Gods word for you; for so Basilides and Photinus the hereticks said, that they had Gods

word to maintaine their heresie. So *Nestorius*, so Macedonius, so Pelagius, and briefly, all the hetikes that ever were, pretended that they had Gods word for them; yea and so the divell being the father of heresies, alleadged Gods word for him, saying: *Scriptum est*, It is written: So said he to Christ *Mitte te deorsum*, Cast thy selfe downward, which you applied most falsely against the pope. But if you marke the divels language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truely. For *mitte te deorsum*, Cast thy selfe downward, said hee, and so taught you to cast all things downeward. Down with the sacrament, downe with the masse, downe with the aultars, downe with the armes of Christ, and up with a lyon and a dog[s], downe with the abbeys, downe with chauntreys,

[s] *And a dog.*] Martin here refers to the taking down of the roods and rood-lofts in churches, and to the fixing up of the king's arms in their room. "The rood was an image of Christ upon the cross, made generally of wood, and placed on a *loft* made for that purpose, just over the passage out of the church into the chancel; out of this mystery, they say, that the church represents the church *militant*, and the chancel the church *triumphant*; and those which will pass out of the former into the latter, must go under the rood-loft, that is, they must go under the cross, and suffer affliction. This rood was not compleat without the images of the Virgin Mary, and St. John, one of them standing on the one side, and the other on the other side of the image of Christ; in allusion to that of St. John in the gospel, *Jesus* (on the cross) *saw his mother*, and *the disciple* standing *by whom he loved*. These images were also sometimes placed without, over the entrance into the church: but the places now wherever they stood before, are possessed and filled up generally with the *king's arms*. These holy roods were of great esteem, and many miracles pretended to have been done at, and by them. "Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, p. 199. The removal of these images, which was occasioned by the manifold superstitions to which they were instrumental, gave great offence to the patrons of the old religion: and now, in the reign of Q. Mary, when

chauntreys, downe with hospitals and colledges, downe with fasting, and prayer, yea downe with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended to no other, but to fulfill the devils request, *Mitte te deorsum.* And therefore tell not us that you have Gods word. For God hath given us by his word, a marke to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the divell, and that your doctrine came not of Christ, but of antichrist. For Christ foresaid, there should come against his church, ravening wolves, and false apostles. But how should wee know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, *By their fruites ye shall knowe them.* Why, what be their fruites? Saith Paule declareth, *After the flesh they walke in concupiscence, and uncleannesse: they contemne potestates.* Againe: *In the latter daies there shall be perillous times. Then shal there be men loving themselves, covetous, proude, disobedient to parents, treasonworkers.* Whether these be not the fruites of your gospell, I referre me to this worshipfull audience: whether the said gospell beganne not with perjurie, proceeded with adulterie,

when popery was in the midst of her drunken, unruly, and sanguinary triumph, her partizans did not scruple to set all truth and reason at defiance, by speaking of this salutary measure in such terms as the following: "If a man shuld entre into a churche whiche is as it were Goddes palaise in earth, and there plucke downe violentlye Christes owne image, and eyther breake it, or burne it, and *sette up the kinges armes in stede thereof, because he woulde make him a God* (as Caius the emperoure did in the holy temple of Hierusalem, where he caused his owne image to be set up, and would be called a God, and that the temple there shulde be named the temple of the goodly newe Juppiter Caius), I beleeve, that no good christen man woulde judge hym to be christes frende, but a wretched heretike, and an arrende traytoure both to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and also to hys blessed spouse the catholyke churche." Christopherson *Against Rebellion.* Signat. U 2. 1554.

was

was maintained with heresie, and ended in conspiracy.

"Now sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made heere: the one against the holie sacrament; the other against the popes jurisdiction, and the authoritie of the sea apostolicke.

"Touching the first, ye say you have Gods word with you, yea and all the doctors. I would heere aske but one question of you; whether Gods word be contrary to it selfe, and whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to themselves, or no? For you master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the aultar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one, *verbum Domini.*"

Cran. "Nay, I taught but two contrarye doctrines [9] in the same."

Mart. "What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the sacramentary in the kings presence in Whitehall?"

Cran. "I maintained then the papists doctrine."

Mart. "That is to say, the catholike and universall doctrine of Christs church. And how when king Henry died? did you not translate Justus Jonas booke?"

Cran. "I did so."

Mart. "Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token,

[9] *Two contrarye doctrines.*] Upon no better authority than the calumnies of his adversaries, and the slight presumptions arising from his early familiarity with Germans, and his translating the Latin catechism of Justus Jonas, it has been affirmed by the protestant historians. Fox, p. 1115, Burnet, vol. i, p. 241, &c. Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 123, 396, &c. from whose hands the same error has been received by very many modern writers, that Cranmer once maintained the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament.

that

that you sent to Lynne your printer, that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christs bodie really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a *not*, wherby it came miraculously to passe, that Christs bodie was cleane conveyed out of the sacrament."

Cran. "I remember there was two printers of my said booke, but where the same *not* was put in, I cannot tell."

Mart. "Then from a Lutherane, ye became a Swinglian, which is the vilest heresie of all in the high misterie of the sacrament, and for the same heresie you did helpe to burne Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholike faith, and Gods word."

Cran. "I grant that then I beleeved otherwise than I doe now, and so I did, untill my lord of London, doctor Ridley did conferre with mee, and by sundry perswasions and authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my opinion."

Mart. "Now sir as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the popes holinesse was supreme head of the church of Christ."

Cran. "I did so."

Mart. "Who say you then is supreame head?"

Cran. "Christ."

Mart. "But whome hath Christ left heere in earth his vicar and head of his church?"

Cran. "No bodie."

Mart. "Ah, why tolde you not king Henry this when you made him supreame head? and now no body is. This is treason against his owne person, as you then made him."

Cran. "I meane not but every king in his owne realm and dominion is supreame head, and so was hee supreame head of the church of Christ in England."

Mart.

Mart. "Is this alwaies true? and was it ever so in Christs Church?"

Cranmer. "It was."

Martin. "Then what say you by Nero? he was the mightiest prince of the earth after Christe was ascended; was he head of Christs church?"

Cranmer. "Nero was Peter's head."

Mart. "I aske whether Nero was head of the church or no? if he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were heads of the church within their realmes."

Cran. "Nay, it is true; for Nero was head of the church, that is, in worldlie respect of the temporall bodies of men, of whome the church consisteth: for so hee beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turke too is head of the church in Turkey."

Mart. "Then he that beheaded the heads of the church, and crucified the apostles, was head of Christs church: and he that was never member of the church, is head of the church, by your new found understanding of Gods word."

It is not to be supposed contrary, but much other matter passed in this communication between them, especially on the archbishops behalfe, whose answers I doe not thinke to bee so slender, nor altogether in the same forme of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be knowne: but so it pleased the notary thereof, being too much partiallie addicted to his mother sea of Rome in favour of his faction, to diminish and drive downe the other side, either in not shewing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was: as the common guise is of moste writers, to what side their affection moste wayeth, their oration commonlie inclineth. But let us proceede further in the story of this matter.

"It

" It followed then (saith this reporter) when the archbishoppe thus had answered, and the standers by began to murmure against him, the judges not content with his answeres, willed him to answere directly to the interrogatories: which interrogatories articulated against him in forme of lawe, were these under following."

Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his answers annexed to the same.

1. First was objected, that he the foresaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entred into holie orders, maried one Joane surnamed Blacke or Browne, dwelling at the signe of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

Answere. Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called Black or Browne, he knew not, but that he maried there one Joane, that he granted.

2. That after the death of the foresaid wife, hee entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishoppe by the pope.

Ans. He received (he said) a certaine bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was archbishop by him.

3. Item. that hee being in holy orders, maried an other woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so was twife maried.

Answ. To this he granted.

4. Item, in the time of king Henry the eight, he kept the said wife secretlie, and had children by her.

Ans. Heereunto hee also granted: affirming that it was better for him to have his owne, than to

to doe like other priestes, holding and keeping other mens wives.

5. Item, in the time of king Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publikelie the same to bee his wife.

Ans. He denyed not but he so did, and lawfully might doe the same, for as much as the lawes of the realme did so permit him.

6. Item, that he shamed not openlie to glorie himselfe to have had his wife in secret manie yeares.

Ans. And though he so did (he said) there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. Item, that the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deepe bottome of errours, did fly and recuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresie concerning the sacrament of the aultar, and also did compile, and caused to bee set abroad divers bookes.

Auns. Whereunto when the names of the bookes were recited to him, he denyed not such bookes which he was the true author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr, upon the sacrament, hee denyed that he never saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the catechisme, the booke of articles, with the other book against Winchester, hee granted the same to bee his doings[1]

8. Item,

His doings.] Upon this interrogatory it is material to insert the precise words which were reported to the Cardinal de Puteo by bishop Brookes in his official dispatch forwarded to Rome.

" Ad septimum fatetur se edidisse librum in hac parte exhibitum, et in articulo mencionatum, vocatum, *A Defence of the true and Catholyke Feithe*, &c. et negat se edidisse librum in eodem articulo etiam mentionatum, vocatum, *A Discourse of Peter Martir*, &c. et quoad tertium librum, vocatum, *A Discourse*

8. Item, That he compelled many against their willes to subscribe to the same articles.

Ans. He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe; but against their willes he compelled none.

9. Item, for so much as hee surceased not to perpetrate enorme and inordinate crimes, hee was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there should be holden.

Auns. To this he said, that hee knew no such enorme and inordinate crimes, that ever he committed.

10. Item, that in the said citie of Oxford, he did openly maintaine his heresie, and there was convicted uppon the same.

Ans. Hee defended (he said) there the cause of the sacrament, but to be convicted in the same that he denyed.

11. Item, when he persevered still in the same, hee was by the publike censure of the university, pronounced an heretike, and his bOoks to be hereticall.

Auns. That he was so denounced, hee denyed not: but that hee was an heretike, or his bookes hereticall, that he denyed.

12. Item, that hee was and is notoriously in-

Discourse of the Lordes Supper, &c. negat se illum edidisse, tamen credit quod hujusmodi liber est bonus et catholicus: et quoad Cathechismum et articulos in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem ejusdem; et quoad librum vocatum, *An Answer of the moste Reverende father in God*, &c. fatetur se edidisse illam partem ejusdem libri quæ continet ejus responsa ad librum editum per reverendum patrem Wintoniensem episcopum." Lambeth MSS. No. 1136, p. 7.

famed with the note of schisme, as who not onlie himselfe receded from the catholike church and sea of Rome, but also mooved the king and subjects of this realme to the same.

Ans. As touching the receding, that hee well granted: but that receding or departing (said he) was onlie from the sea of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schisme.

13. Item that he had beene twise sworne to the pope: and withall doctor Martin brought out the instrument of the publike notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should bee consecrated, asking if hee had anie thing else protested.

Auns. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the lawes of the realme.

14. Item, that hee the said archbishop of Canturbury did not onelie offend in the premisses, but also in taking upon him the authoritie of the sea of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the said sea, hee consecrated bishops and priests.

Auns. He granted, that hee did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the publike lawes and determination of the realme.

15. Item, that when the whole realme had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he onely still persisted in his errour.

Auns. That he did not admit the popes authority, hee confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denyed.

16. Item, that all and singular the premisses be true.

Auns. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

Thus they proceeded to examine him of these divers articles, whereof the chiefe was: That at the time of his creating archbishop of Canturbury, he was sworne to the pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and promised to maintain then the authoritie of that see, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather sticke to his first othe, and returne to his olde folde againe, then to continue obstinately in an othe forced in the time of schisme.

To that he answered, saving his protestation (which tearme he used before all his answeres) that at such time as archbishop Warham died, he was ambassador in Germanie for the king, who sent for him thereupon home, and having intelligence by some of his friendes (who were neare about the king) how hee meant to bestow the same bishopricke upon him, and therefore counselled him in that case to make haste home, hee feeling in himselfe a great inhability to such a promotion, and very sorie to leave his study, and especially considering by what meanes he must have it, which was cleane against his conscience, which he could not utter without great perill and danger, devised an excuse to the king of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should bee most necessarie, thinking by that means in his absence, that the king would have bestowed it upon some other, and so remained there by that devise, one halfe yeare after the king had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as hee seemed to make suspition of, the king sent for him againe. Who after his returne, understanding still the archbishopricke to be reserved for him, made meanes by divers of his best friendes, to shift it off, desiring rather some

smaller

smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his booke.

To be briefe, when the king himselfe spake with him, declaring his full intention, for his service sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestowe that dignitie uppon him, after long disabling of himselfe, perceiving hee could by no perswasions alter the kings determination, he brake frankly his conscience with him, most humbly craving first his graces pardon, for that he should declare unto his highnes. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he must receive it at the popes hand, which he neither would, nor could doe, for that his highnesse was onely the supreame governour of this church of England, as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall, and that the full right and donation of all maner of bishopricks and benefices, as well as of any other temporall dignities, and promotions, appertained to his grace, and not to any other forraine authority, whatsoever it was, and therefore if he might serve God in that vocation, him, and his country, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his majestie, and of none other stranger, who had no authoritie within this realme, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. "Whereat the king," said he, "staying a while and musing, asked me how I was able to proove it. At which time I alledged many textes out of the scriptures, and the Fathers also, approoving the supreme and highest authority of kings in their realms and dominions, disclosing therewithall the intolerable usurpation of the pope of Rome.

"Afterwards it pleased his highnes" (quoth the archbishop) "many and sundry times to talke with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought

to

to acknowledge the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, the king himselfe called Doctor Oliver, and other civill lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow it upon me, inforcing me nothing against my conscience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might doe it by the way of protestation, and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the othe, and doe every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I sayd, he should doe it *Super animam suam:* and I indeed *Bona fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his authoritie anie further, then as it agreede with the expresse word of GOD, and that it might bee lawfull for mee at all times to speake against him, and to impugne his errours, when time and occasion should serve mee. And this my protestation did I cause to bee inrolled, and there I thinke it remaineth."

They objected to him also that he was maried: which he confessed. Whereupon doctor Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canturbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondemen to the benefice or no, saying, I trust you will make my childrens causes no worse.

After this doctor Martine demanded of him who was supreame head of the church of England? "Mary," quoth my lord of Canturburie, "Christ is head of this member, as hee is of the whole body of the universall church." "Why," quoth doctor Martin, "you made king Henry the eight supreme head of the church." "Yea," said the archbishop, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiasticall, as temporall." "And not of the church," sayde Martin? "No said he, for Christ is onely head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governour of his

his people, which are the visible church." "What," quoth Martin, "you never durst tell the king so." "Yes, that I durst," quoth hee, "and did, and in the publication of his stile, wherein hee was named supream head of the church, there was never other thing meant." A number of other fonde and foolish objections were made, with repetition wherof I thought not to trouble the reader.

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the publike notary had entred the same, the judges and commissioners, as having now accomplished that wherefore they came, were about to rise and depart: But the bishop of Glocester thinking it not the best so to dismisse the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the archbishop, began in his oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaime.

The Oration of Bishop Brookes, in closing up this Examination against Doctor Cranmer Archbishop of Canturbury.

"Master Cranmer (I cannot otherwise tearme you, considering your obstinacie) I am right sorrie, I am right hartily sory to heare such words escape your mouth so unadvisedlie. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment: I supposed that this obstinacie of yours came not of a vaine-glorie, but rather of a corrupt conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your returne. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is farre otherwise. Ye are so puffed up with vain-glorie, there is such a *cauteria* of heresie crept into your conscience, that I am cleane voide of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition? Who can save that will bee lost? God would have you to be saved, and you refuse it. *Thy perdition*

is

is onelie upon thy selfe, O Israel: onelie in me is thy salvation, saith the Lord by his prophet. You have uttered so erroneous talke, with such open malice against the popes holinesse, with such open lying against the church of Rome, with such open blasphemy against the sacrament of the aultar, that no mouth could have expressed more malitiously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

" To reason with you, although I would of myselfe to satisfie this audience, yet may I not by our commission, neither can I finde how I may doe it with the scriptures: For the apostle doth command that such a one should not onelie not be talked withall, but also shunned and avoided, saying, *An heretical! person after once or twise conferring, shunne, knowing that he is perverse and sinneth, being of his owne judgement condemned.* Ye have beene conferred withall not once or twise, but oftentimes, yee have oft beene lovinglie admonished, yee have beene oft secretly disputed with. And the last yeare in the open schoole, in open disputations, ye have been openly convict, ye have beene openly driven out of the schoole with hisses: your booke which ye brag you made seven yeares ago, and no man answered it, Marcus Antonius hath sufficientlie detected and confuted, and yet yee persist still in your wonted heresie.

" Wherefore being so oft admonished, conferred withall, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whome the apostle noteth, heare then what Origen saith, who wrote above 1300 yeares agoe; and interpreteth the saying of the apostle in this wise, *in Apologia Pamphili, Hæreticus est omnis ille habendus, qui Christo se credere profitetur, & aliter de Christi veritate sentit quam se habet Ecclesiastica traditio.* Even now ye professed a kind of Christianitie and holines unto us, for at your

beginning you fell downe upon your knees, and sayde the Lords prayer (God wote like an hypocrite) and then standing uppon your feete, you rehearsed the articles of your faith; but to what ende I pray you else, but to cloke that inwarde heresie rooted in you, that you might blinde the poore, simple and unlearned peoples eyes? For what will they say or thinke, if they doe not thus say? Good Lord, what meaneth these men to say that hee is an heretike; they are deceived, this is a good Christian, hee beleeveth as we beleeve.

"But is this sufficient to escape the name of an heretike? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient, but for you that have professed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your beleefe. For unlesse (as Origen saieth) yee beleeve all things that the church hath decreede besides, you are no Christian man. In the which because you doe halte and will come to no conformitie; from hence forth ye are to bee taken for an hereticke, with whome we ought neither to dispute, neither to reason, whome wee ought rather to eschewe and avoide.

"Nevertheles, although I doe not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from Gods favour, yet because ye have uttered to the annoying of the people, such pestilent heresies as may doe harme among some rude and unlearned, I thinke meet and not *abs re*, somewhat to say heerein: not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people which be here present, least they being seduced by your diabolicall doctrine, may perish thereby.

"And first (as it behooveth every man to purge himselfe first before he enter with any other) where you accuse me of an othe made against the bishop

of

of Rome, I confesse it, and deny it not, and therefore doe say with the rest of this realme, good and catholike men, the saying of the prophet, *We have sinned with our fathers: we have done unjustly, and wickedly. The sinnes of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord doe not remember.* I was then a yong man, and as yong a scholler here in the universitie.

" I knew not then what an othe did meane, and yet to saie the truth, I didde it compulsed; compulsed I say by you maister Cranmer, and here were you the author and cause of my perjurie, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now where you say I made two othes, the one contrary to the other, it is not so, for the othe I made to the popes holinesse, appertaineth only to spirituall things. The other othe that I made to the king, pertaineth onely to temporall thinges: that is to say, that I doe acknowledge all my temporall livinges to proceede onely from the king and from none else. But all men may see, as you agree in this, so ye agree in the rest of your opinions.

" Now sir, as concerning the supremacie which is onely due to the see of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which doe confirme that Christ appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a most evident place. When Christ demanded of his apostles whom men called him; they aunswered, *some Elias, some a prophet,* &c. But Christ replied unto Peter, and saide: *Whom sayest thou Peter that I am?* Peter answered, *Tu es Christus filius Dei,* and Christ replied, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.* The doctors interpreting this place, *super hanc Petram,* expounded it, *id est, non solum super fidem Petri, sed super te Petre.* And why did Christ change his name from Simon

to Peter, which in Latine is a stone, but onely to declare that hee was onely the foundation and head of the church.

" Againe, where Christ demanded of Peter being amongst the rest of his apostles, three times a rew[2], *Petre amas me*, he gave him charge over his sheep, *Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos.* Which place Chrysostome interpreting saith, *Pasce, hoc est, loco mei esto præpositus & caput fratrum tuorum.* To conclude, when they came that required Didrachma of Christ, hee commanded Peter to cast his net into the sea, and to take out of the fishes mouth that he tooke, *stateram, hoc est, duplex Didrachma, & da inquit pro te & me Petre.* Which words do signifie, that when he had payed for them two, hee had payd for all the rest. For as in the olde lawe there were appointed two heads over the people of Israell, Moyses, and Aaron, Moyses as chief, and Aaron next head under him: so in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Christ and Peter. Christ is head of all, and Peter next under him. Our Saviour Christ (saith saint Augustine) commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the same to be given for all other, for hee appointed him to bee head of them. What can be more plaine then this? But I will not tarry upon this matter.

" Now, as touching the popes lawes, where you say, they be contrary, because the service which should bee (as you say) in English, is in Latine: I answere, whosoever will take the paines to peruse the chapter, which is the 14. of the first to the

[2] *Three times a rew.*] " *Rew* vel *row*, series." Junius in v.

Corin-

Corinthians, shall finde, that his meaning is concerning preaching[3], and *Obiter* onely of praying.

" Againe, where you say, that the popes holinesse doeth take away one part of the sacrament from the laie men, and Christ would have it under both, ye can say no more but this, *Drink ye al of this:* And what followeth, *And all dranke therof.* Now if a man would be so proterve with you, hee might say that Christ gave it onlie to his apostles, in whose places succeeded priestes, and not laie men.

" And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authoritie to change that, aswell as other. Yee read, that Christ calling his apostles together, said unto them, *Goe and preach the gospel to every nation, baptising them in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.* But the apostles being desirous to publish Christs name every where, did baptise onely in Christs name. Againe, Christ before his last supper washed his apostles feete, saying, *If I have washed your feet being your Lord and master, also you ought to wash the feet one of another. I have given you example.* This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, least the simple people should not think a rebaptization in it. So because saith the apostle, *I have received of the Lord the same which I have delivered to you, that our Lord the same night in which he was betrayed,*

[3] *Concerning preaching.*] In his letter to the queen, Cranmer fully and satisfactorily disproves this pretence of bishop Brookes; where he remarks of the interpretation which he had maintained, that " thus was S. Paule understanded of all interpretours, both the Greekes and Latins, old and new, schoole-authors and others, that I have red, until about thirty yeares past, at which time one *Eckius*, with other of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding S. Paule of *preaching* onely." Fox's *Acts*. p. 1715.

&c.

&c. Notwithstanding that this was a precept that the sacrament should bee ministered after supper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to bee received fasting. And where Christ did breake the bread, wee receive the whole hoste. Christ ministred sitting at the table, we standing at the altar.

"It was also commanded in the xv. of the Acts, that christian men should abstaine *From strangled and bloud.* But the church perceiving it to bee a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Christ commaunded to keepe holy the Sabboth day, and the church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the church may change things that bee so expressed in the scriptures, she may also change the form of receiving of lay men under both kindes, for divers occasions.

"First, because in carying to the sicke, the bloud may not bee shed, lost, or misused.

"And next, that no occasion might be given to heretickes to thinke that there is not so much under one kinde, as under both.

"But why would you have it under both kindes, I pray you else, but onely to pervert and contrary the commandement of the church? For when you had it under both kindes, you beleeved in neither: And wee having but one, beleeve both kindes. Now sir, as concerning the sacrament of the altar, where you say, you have a number of doctors of your *side*, and wee none of our side, that is to say, to confirme the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, indeede one to stoppe your mouth, I thinke it not possible to finde. Nevertheless, where your request is to have one shewed unto you, and then you wil recant, I will shew you two.

Saint

" Saint Augustine *super* 33. *Psalm, ferebatur manibus suis*: I finde not how this is true in David (saith he) litterally, that he was borne in his owne hands, but in Christ I finde it litterally, when he gave his body to his apostles at his last supper.

" Againe, saint Cyprian *De Cœna Domini*, sayth: *Panis quem dominus noster discipulis suis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro.* What can be more plaine then this? yet to your exposition it is not plaine enough. But give me your figurative, significative and such other like tearms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended: no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can doe no other but put you in the number of them, whome Chrysostome spake of in this wise, saying, Hear, O thou Christian man: wilt thou doe more then Christ could doe? Christ confuted the Pharisies, yet could hee not put them to silence. And art thou stronger then Christ? Wilt thou goe about to bring them to silence that will receive no answere? as who should say, thou canst not. Thus much have I sayd, not for you maister Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you, is now gone and past, but in somewhat to satisfie the rude and unlearned people, that they perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancie, may the better eschewe your detestable and abhominable schisme."

And thus ended the prelate his worshipfull tale. After whom doctor Storie taketh the matter, and thus inferreth in words, as followeth.

" Master Cranmer, you have made a goodly processe concerning your hereticall othe made to the king, but you forget your othe made to the see apostolicke. As concerning your othe made to the king, if you made it to him onely, it tooke an ende by his death, and so it is released: if you made it

to

to his successors, well sir, the true successors have the empyre, and they will you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christes church againe, and it standeth well with charity."

To this the archbishop answered againe, saith the reporter: but what his answere was, that he suppresseth and returneth to the words of D. Story, who imperiously turning his speech againe to the archbishop, sayd as followeth.

"Hold your peace sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before, to say your phansie. Your othe was no othe, for it lacked the three points of an othe, that is to say, *Judicium, justitiam, & veritatem.*"

These with the like words to the same effect being uttered by doctor Story, seeking to breake up and make an end of that session, he eftsoones called for witnesses to bee producted, who should be sworne upon the booke, to utter and declare the nexte day, whatsoever they knew, or could remember to bee inferred against doctor Cranmers heresie. The names of the witnesses were these.

Doct. Marshal, commissary, and dean of Christs church.
Doctor Smith, under commissary.
Doct. Tresham.
Doct. Crooke.
M. London.
M. Curtop.
M. Warde.
M. Serles.

After the depositions[4] of which witnesses being taken, doctor Story admonished the archbishop, per-

[4] *After the depositions.*] "I know not what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against him the next day. For

permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses to bee refused. Who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in christian religion. For if to sweare, said he, against the pope were unlawfull, they should rather have given their lives, then their othe. But if it were lawfull, then are they perjured, to defend him whom they forsware before. Nevertheless, this answer of the archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpose appertaining, hee was commanded againe to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his first comming in, shewed lowe obedience to doctor Martin, and to doctor Storie, the queenes commissioners. Then doctor Story pointing him to the bishop of Glocester, said, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend archbishop departing without anie obeysance exhibited to the bishop, all the other rose up and departed everie one to his owne. And thus brake uppe the session for that day, about two of the clocke at afternoone.

And thus much hitherto concerning the summary effect of this action or session, with the orations, discourses, and articles commenced against the archbishop of Canturburie, also with the reasons

For Fox relates nothing thereof, nor any other as I know of." Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer.* p. 573. It will be gratifying to those who feel an interest in the ecclesiastical history of their country, to be informed that these depositions are still preserved in a MS. (N°. 1136) extant in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. The MS. which has been already more than once referred to above, is bishop Brookes's official report of the whole of this process, transmitted to the Cardinal De Puteo, to whom the care of this action against Cranmer had been deputed by the pope, and whose sub-delegate Brookes was.

and

and answeres of the said archbishop to their objections and interrogatories.

Thus after they had received his answeres to all their objections, they cited him[5] to appeare at Rome within fourescore daies, to make there his personall answeres: which he said, if the king and queene would send him, hee would bee content to doe, and so thence was caried to prison againe, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that hee was commanded to appeare at Rome.

Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the craftie practise of these prelates, and the visored face of their justice, as though the court of Rome would condemne no man before he answered for himselfe, as all law and equity required. But the very same instant time, the holinesse of that unholy father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his letter executory unto the king and queene to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing hee did not onely before the eighty dayes were ended, but before there were twentie dayes spent. Furthermore, whereas the sayde archbishop was fast detained in streit prison,

[5] *They cited him.*] Not so. But the citation to Rome took place on Saturday, Sept. 7, 1555, before the commencement of this process. See Cranmer's *Letter to the Queen*, subjoined to the second edition of Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, p. 420. Fox is followed in this mistake by Strype, Burnet, &c. Again: It is not true, that the pope's letters to degrade and deprive Cranmer were dispatched within twenty days after the day of his citation. On the 29th of November, by which time the eighty days were expired, the Cardinal Puteo in Consistory moved his complaints against the archbishop, in consequence of which, at another meeting, holden Dec. 4th, he was sentenced to be excommunicated and deprived. And on the eleventh the administration of the See of Canterbury, now vacant by the deprivation, &c. was conferred on cardinal Pole. See Poli *Epist.* vol. v. p. 139—143. Raynaldi *Annales Ecclesiast.* Tom. xxi. p. 126, and Fox's *Acts*, p. 1930.

so that hee could not appeare (as was notorious both in England and also in the Romish court) and therefore had a lawfull and most just excuse of his absence by all lawes, both popish and other; yet in the ende of the saide fourescore daies, was that worthy martyr decreed *Contumax*, that is, sturdily, frowardly, and wilfully absent, and in paine of the same his absence, condemned and put to death[6].

Doctor Thurlby and Doctor Boner comming with a new Commission to sit upon the Archbishop the 14. *Day of Februarie.*

This letter or sentence definitive of the pope was dated about the first[7] day of January, and was delivered heere in England about the middest of February. Upon the receite of which letters another session was appointed for the archbishoppe to appeare the 14. day of February, before cer-

[6] *Put to death.*] "It were long to shew in particular" (says bishop Jewel) "what lawes M. Hardings friends used, when they sate upon the bench. They caused dead men and women to be digged out of their graves, and so sate upon them solemnly in judgement, and condemned them. Their holy one of Rome burnt that most reverend father Dr. Cranmer at Rome in a mummery, before he ever saw him, or heard him speake: and yet notwithstanding, they arraigned him in Oxford, and judged him afterward to be burnt. They first tooke, and imprisoned the innocent, that had broken no law, and afterward devised a law to condemne him. And to passe by many other like disorders, and horrible extremities of that time, first they scattered and forced their masses thorow the realme against the lawes; afterward they stablished the same by a law: last of all, the next yeare following they summoned, and had a solemne disputation in Oxford, to try whether their law were good or no.—In order of nature, the disputation should have been first, and then the law, and last of all the execution of the same among the people." *Reply to Harding's Answer*, p. 358, edit. 1609, fol.

[7] *About the first.*] The date was *(decimo nono Calend. Januar.)* Dec. 14. See Fox's *Acts.* p. 1931.

taine

taine commissioners directed downe by the queene, the chiefe whereof was the bishop of Ely, doctor Thurlby. Concerning which doctor Thurlby by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the sayde archbishop's houshold chaplaine, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearely beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a chaplaine, but rather like a naturall brother) that there was never any thing in the archbishops house so deare, were it plate, jewell, horse, maps, bookes, or any thing else, but if Thurlby did never so little commende it (a subtle kind of begging) the archbishoppe by and by, either gave it to him, or shortly sent it after him to his house. So greatly was the archbishop inamored with him, that whosoever would obtaine any thing of him, most commonly would make their way before by doctor Thurlby. Which by-matter of the sayde doctor Thurlby, I thought here to recite, not somuch to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulnesse, as chiefly and only for this, to admonish him of olde benefites received, wherby hee may the better remember his olde benefactor, and so to favour the cause and quarrell of him whom he was so singularly bounden unto.

With the said doctor Thurlby bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same commission doctor Boner bishop of London; which two comming to Oxforde uppon saint Valentines day, as the popes delegates, with a newe commission from Rome, by the vertue thereof commanded the archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the quier of Christes church before the high altar: where they sitting (according to their manner) in their pontificalibus, first began as the fashion is, to reade their commission; wherein was contained, how that in the court of Rome all thinges being indifferently examined,

both

both the articles laide to his charge, with the answeres made unto them, and witnesses examined on both partes, and counsell heard as well on the king and queenes behalfe his accusers, as on the behalfe of Thomas Cranmer, the partie guiltie, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defense, &c. Which foresayde commission, as it was in reading, "O Lord," said the archbishop, "what lies be these, that I being continually in prison, and never could be suffered to have counsell or advocate at home, should produce witnesse and appoint my counsell at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shamelesse lying." They read on the commission which came from the pope, "*Plenitudine potestatis*, supplying all maner of defectes in law or processe, committed in dealing with the archbishop, and giving them full authoritie to proceede to the deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, *Omni appellatione remota.*

When the commission was read thus, they proceeding therupon to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplesse, and then an albe; after that the vestiment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to masse.

When they had apparailed him so farre: "What," said he, "I thinke I shall say masse?" "Yea," sayde Cosins one of Boners chaplaines, "my Lord, I trust to see you say masse, for all this." "Doe you so," quoth hee? "that shall you never see, nor I will never doe it."

Then they invested him in all maner of robes of a bishop and archbishoppe, as he is at his installing, saving that as everie thing then is most rich and costly, so everie thing in this was of canvas and

and olde cloutes, with a miter and a pall of the same sute doone upon him in mockerie, and then the crosier staffe was put in his hand.

This done after the popes pontificall forme and maner, Boner, who by the space of many yeares had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoyced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his oration to the assemblie, after this maner of sort.

"This is the man who hath ever despised the popes holines, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled downe so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the aultar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the aultar. This is the man that like Lucifer sate in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge other, and now is come before an altar to be judged himselfe."

Wherunto the bishop interrupting him saide that in that he belied him, as hee did in many other thinges: For that which he would now seeme to charge him withall, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. "For the thing you meane of, was in Paules church" (said he) "where I came to sit in commission; and there was a scaffolde prepared for me and others, by you and your officers; and whether there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it; wherfore you doe wittingly evill to charge me with it."

But Boner went on still in his rhetoricall repetition, lying and railing against the archbishop, beginning every sentence with, "This is the man, this

this is the man," till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unmanerly usage of him in that time and place: Insomuch that the bishop of Elie aforesaide, divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward when they went to dinner, that hee had broken promise with him: for he had intreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crosier staffe out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther[8], pulled an appeale out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, "I appeale to the next generall councell; and herein I have comprehended my cause and forme of it, which I desire may be admitted:" and prayed divers of the standers by, by name, to be witnesses, and especially M. Curtop, to whom he spake twice, &c.

The copy of which his appellation, because it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibite, as in forme here followeth.

The Tenour of the Appeale of the Archbishop of Canturbury from the Pope, to the next generall Councell.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost.

"First, my plaine protestation made, that I intend to speake nothing against one holy, catholicke

[8] *Of Martin Luther.*] Luther first appealed from cardinal Caietan, the pope's delegate, to the pope himself; and afterwards from the pope to a general council. Sleidan. *De Statu.* p. 11, 17.

and

and apostolicall church, or the authoritie therof (the which authoritie I have in great reverence, and to whome my minde is in all thinges to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by slippernesse of tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine adversaries be spoken or done otherwise then well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

" Although the bishop of Rome (whome they call pope) beareth the roome of Christ in earth, and hath authoritie of God, yet by the power or authoritie hee is not become unsinnable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edifie the congregation: Therefore if he shall commaund any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the precepts of God: no rather he may lawfullie be resisted, even as Paule withstoode Peter. And if he being ayded by help of princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion, or with evill counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is neverthelesse one remedie of appealing (which no prince can take away) uttered by the very law of nature: for somuch as it is a certaine defence, which is meete for every body by the lawe of God, of nature, and of man.

" And whereas the lawes doe permit a man to appeale, not onely from the greefes and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatned to be done, insomuch that the inferiour cannot make lawes of not appealing to a superiour power; and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy generall councell, lawfully gathered together in the Holie Ghost, and representing

ing the holie catholicke church, is above the pope, especially in matters concerning faith, and that hee cannot make decrees that men shall not appeale from him to a generall councell: Therefore I Thomas Cranmer, archbishoppe of Canturburie, or in time past ruler of the metropolitical church of Canturburie, doctor in divinity, doe say and publish before you the publike notarie, and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeale from the persons and greefes underneath written, and to profer my selfe in place and time convenient and meet, to proove the articles that followe. And I openly confesse, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have hadde either libertie to come abroad my selfe, or licence of a notary and witnesses. But further then I am able to doe, I knowe well is not required of the lawes.

1. "First I say and publish, that James by the mercy of God priest, called cardinall of the pit, and of the title of our ladie in the way of the church of Rome, judge and commissary specially deputed of our most holy lord the pope (as hee affirmed) caused me to be cited to Rome, there to appeare fourescore dayes after the citation served on me, to make answer to certaine articles touching the perill of my state and life: And whereas I was kept in prison with most streit ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered to goe to Rome, nor to come out of prison; and in so greevous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a proctor; and though I would never so faine send my proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I should beare my proctors costes and charges, is quite taken from me) neverthelesse the most reverend cardinall aforesaid doth sore threaten mee, that whether I

shall appeare or not, he wil neverthelesse yet proceed in judgement against me. Wherin I feel my self so grieved that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further from reason.

2. "Secondly, the reverend father James Brooks, by the mercy of God bishop of Glocester, judge and under deputie (as hee affirmed) of the most reverend cardinall, caused mee to be cited at Oxford (where I was then kept in prison) to answere to certaine articles, concerning the danger of my state and life: And when I, being unlearned and ignorant in the lawes, desired counsell of the learned in the law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equitie of all lawes both of God and man. Wherein againe I feele me most wrongfully grieved.

3. "And when I refused the said bishop of Glocester to bee my judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he neverthcles went on still, and made processe against me, contrary to the rule of the lawes of appealing, which say, *A judge that is refused, ought not to proceede in the cause, but to leave off.* And when hee had required of me answers to certain articles, I refused to make him any answere: I said I would yet gladly make answere to the most renowned kings and queenes deputies or attournies then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answere should be extrajudiciall; and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer, but mine answer was sodain and unprovided for: and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answeres, that I might put to, take away, change, and amende them: and this was also permitted me. Neverthelesse, contrarie to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answere,

the

the sayde reverend father bishoppe of Glocester (as I heare) commanded mine answeres to be inacted, contrary to the equitie of the law. In which thing againe I feele me much grieved.

4. " Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the bishop ef Romes usurped authoritie in this realme, nor consent to it: First my solemne othe letting me, which I made in the time of king Henry the eight, of most famous-memory, according to the lawes of England: Secondly, because I knewe the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, which hee usurpeth, to bee against the crowne, customes, and lawes of this realm of England; in so much, that neither the king can bee crowned in this realme, without the most grievous crime of perjurie, nor may bishops enjoy their bishopricks, nor judgements be used according to the lawes and customes of this realme, except by the bishoppe of Romes authoritie, be accursed both the king and queene, the judges, writers, and executors of the lawes and customes, with all that consent to them: Finally, the whole realme shall be accursed.

5. " Moreover, that hainous and usurped authoritie of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishopricks, provisions, annuates, dispensations, pardons, appellations, buls and other cursed marchandise of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoyle and consume the riches and substance of this realm, which all things should followe againe by recognising and receiving of that usurped authoritie unto the unmeasureable losse of this realme.

6. " Finally it is most evident by that usurped authoritie, not only the crowne of England to be under yoke, the lawes and customes of this realme to be throwne downe and troden under foot; but also the most holy decrees of councels, together with the precepts both of the gospell, and of God.

"When in times past the sunne of righteousnesse being risen in the world, Christian religion, by the preaching of the apostles began to be spread very far abroad and to flourish, in so much that their sound went out into all the world, innumerable people, which walked in darknesse, sawe a great light, gods glory every where published did flourish, the onely carke and care of the ministers of the church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ, the people's to imbrace and followe Christes doctrine. Then the church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily the mother of other churches, for as much as then she first begatte to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did helpe them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable; she rejoyced with them that rejoyced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pompe was troden under foote, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this fraile and uncertaine life, being full of all miseries, was laughed to scorne, whiles thorough the example of Romish martyrs, men did every where presse forthward to the life to come. But after, when the ungraciousnesse of damnable ambition never satisfied, avarice and the horrible enormitie of vices had corrupted and taken the see of Rome, there followed every where almost the deformities of all churches, growing out of kinde, into the maners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foule and hainous usages.

"For the foresayd and many other griefes and abuses, (which I intend to proove, and doe profer my selfe in time convenient, to proove hereafter) since reformation of the above mentioned abuses is not

not to be looked for of the bishop of Rome, neither can I hope by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authoritie, to have him an equall judge in his owne cause: therefore I do challenge and appeale in these writings from the pope, having no good counsel, and from the above named pretenses, commissions, and judges, from their citations, processes, and from all other thinges that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their sentences, censures, paines, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all other whatsoever their denouncinges and declarations (as they pretend) of schisme, of heresie, adulterie, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any maner wise attempted, done, and set forward, to be attempted, to be done, and to be set forth hereafter (saving alwayes their honors and reverences) as unequall and unrighteous, most tyrannicall and violent, and from every griefe to come, which shall happen to me, as well for my selfe as for all and every one that cleaveth to mee, or will hereafter bee on my side, unto a free generall councell, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place, to the which place I or a proctor deputed by mee, may freely and with safetie come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, priviledge, custome, or otherwise challenge and appeale.

"And I desire, the first, the second, and the third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers[1], if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling, abuse, inequa-

[1] *May have messengers.*] "Letters of protection and defence." Fox in the margin.

litie,

litie, and unrighteousnesse, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choyse and libertie reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpretate my sayings, and to reforme all things after a better fashion, saving alwayes to mee every other benefite of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

" And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speake, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholike church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach, those thinges only, which I had learned of the sacred scripture, and of the holy catholike church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

" And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise then I thought, I may erre, but hereticke I cannot be, for as much as I am ready in all things to follow the judgement of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy catholicke church, desiring none other thing, then meekly and gently to be taught, if anie where (which God forbid) I have swarved from the truth.

" And I protest and openly confesse, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament, and of other my doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I meane and judge those things, as the catholike church, and the most holy fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, waies and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their inter-

nterpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for an hereticke, because I allowe not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to wordes not accustomed in scripture, and unknowne to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of soules, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion. Yeven, &c."

This appeale being put up to the bishop of Elie, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, *Omni appellatione remota:* and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," (quoth he) "then you doe me the more wrong: for my case is not as every private mannes case. The matter is betweene the pope and me *immediate*, and none otherwise: and I thinke, no man ought to be a judge in his owne cause."

"Well," quoth Ely, "if it may be admitted it shall," and so received it of him. And then began hee to perswade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to doe him good, promising to become a suter to the king and queene for him: and so protested his great love and friendship that had been betweene them, hartily weeping, so that for a time he could not goe on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it hadde not beene the king and queenes commandement, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commoditie should have made him, to have done it, concluding that to be one of the sorrowfulst things that ever happened unto him. The archbishoppe gently seeming to comfort him, sayde, he was verie well content withall: and so proceeded they to his degradation.

Here

Here then to be short, when they came to take off his pall (which is a solemne vesture of an archbishop) then sayd he, "Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall?" Which imported asmuch as they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Wherunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges: but being the popes delegates, they might take his pall; and so they did, and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barbar clipped his haire[*] round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had bin annointed, wherin bishop Bonner behaved himselfe, as roughly and unmanerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whiles they were thus doing, "All this" (quoth the archbishop) "needed not: I had my selfe done with this geare long agoe." Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poore yeoman bedles gowne, full bare and neerely worne, and as evill favouredly made, as one might lightly see, and a townes mans cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake lord Boner, saying to him, "Now are you no lord anie more:" and so whensoever he spake to the people of him (as hee was continually barking against him) ever he used this tearm, "This gentleman here," &c.

And thus with great compassion and pitie of every man in this evill favored gown was he caried to prison. Whom there followed a gentleman of Glocestershire with the archbishops owne gown, who standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the bishoppes, had it delivered to him; who

[*] *Clipped his haire.*] See *Life of Taylor*: Note 3.

by

by the way talking with him, said, "The bishop of Elie protested his friendship with teares. "Yet" (said he) "he might have used a great deale more friendship towards me, and never have beene the worse thought on; for I have well deserved it:" and going into the prison up with him, asked him if he would drinke. Who answered him, saying; if he had a peece of saltfish, that he had better will to eate: for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, "but now that it is past, my heart," saide hee, "is well quieted." Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his hart, for he was able to do it. But hee being one toward the lawe, and fearing maister Farmers case[3], durst therefore give him nothing, but gave monie to the bailifes that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him (for my lord of Canturbury had not one peny in his purse to helpe him) and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himselfe to his prayers and all his friendes. That night this gentleman was staid by Boner and Ely, for giving him this money: and but by the helpe of friends, he had beene sent up to the councel. Such was the cruelty and iniquitie of the time, that men could not doe good without punishment.

Heere followeth the Recantation of the archbishop with his Repentance of the same.

In this meane time, while the archbishop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept

[3] *Farmer's case.*] "This Farmer had lost all his lands for relieving a priest in the tower in king Henries time." Fox in the margin.

now

now in prison almost the space of three yeares) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could, about master Cranmer to have him recant, assaying by all craftie practices and allurements they might devise, how to bring their purpose to passe. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the deanes house of Christes church in the said universitie, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowles, had his pleasure for walking, and all other thinges that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and sleightly they suborned certaine men, which when they could not expugne him by arguments and disputation, should by intreatie and faire promises, or any other meanes allure him to recantation: perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence; and againe on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he as the principall standerd bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatning, flattering, intreating, and promising, and all other meanes, specially Henry Sydall, and frier John a Spaniard, de Villa Garcina, to the end to drive him to the uttermost of their possibilitie, from his former sentence, to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would bee both to the king and queene; and especially how gainefull to him, and for his soules health the same should bee. They added moreover, how the councell and the noble men bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignitie, saying, it was but a small matter, and so easie that they required him to doe, only that he would subscribe to a few wordes with his owne

owne hand, which if he did, there should be nothing in the realme, that the queene would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignitie; or else if hee had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place hee listed, without all publike ministery, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leafe of paper: but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon; for the queene was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a catholike, or else no Cranmer at all: Therefore he shuld choose, whether he thought it better to ende his life shortly in the flames and firebrands now ready to be kindled, then with much honour to prolong his life, untill the course of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that hee would looke to his wealth, his estimation and quietnesse, saying that hee was not so old, but that many yeares yet remained in this his so lusty age: and if hee would not doe it in respect of the queene, yet he should doe it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should bee more carefull for his health, than hee was himselfe: saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and vertues, which being adjoyned with his life, would bee profitable both to himselfe, and to many other; but being extincte by death, should bee fruitfull to no man: that he should take good heed that he went not too farre: yet there was time enough to restore all things safe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, least if hee would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter seeke it when he could not have it.

Finally,

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing moove him, yet hee should remember that to die is greevous in all ages, and especially in these his yeares and flower of dignitie it were more greevous: but to die in the fire and such tormentes, is most greevous of all. With these and like provocations these faire flatterers ceased not to solicite and urge him, using all meanes they could to drawe him to their side: whose force his manly constancie did a great while resist. But at last when they made no ende of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop being overcome, whether thorough their importunitie, or by his owne imbecillitie, or of what mind I cannot tell, but at length gave his hand.

It might be supposed, that it was done for the hope of life, and better daies to come. But as wee may since perceive by a letter of his sent to a lawyer, the most cause why hee desired his time to be delaied, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which hee had already begun: but howsoever it was, plaine it was, to be against his conscience. The forme of which recantation made by the friers and doctors, wherto he subscribed, was this.

The Copy and Words of Cranmers Recantation.

"I Thomas Cranmer late archbishop of Canturbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all maner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zwinglius, and all other teachings which bee contrary to sound and true doctrines. And I beleeve most constantly in my hart, and with my mouth I confesse one holy and catholike church visible, without the which there is no salvation: and therof I know-

ledge the bishoppe of Rome to be supreame head in earth, whom I knowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christs vicar, unto whom all christian people ought to be subject.

And as concerning the sacraments, I beleeve and worshippe in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and bloud of Christ, being contained most truely under the formes of bread and wine, the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his bloud.

And in the other sixe sacraments also (like as in this) I beleeve and hold as the universall church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I beleeve that there is a place of purgatorie, where soules departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholsomely pray, like as it doth honor saintes and make prayers to them.

Finally in all thinges I professe, that I doe not otherwise beleeve, then the catholike church and the church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorie that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy hee will vouchsafe to forgive mee, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church; and also I desire and beseech all christian people to pray for me.

And all such as have beene deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the bloud of Jesus Christ, that they will returne to the unitie of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schisme or division.

And to conclude, as I submit my selfe to the catholicke church of Christ, and to the supreame head thereof, so I submit my self unto the most excellent

excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queene of this realme of England, &c. and to all their lawes and ordinances, being readie alwayes as a faithfull subject ever to obey them. And God is my witnesse that I have not done this for favour or feare of any person, but willinglie and of mine owne mind, as well to the discharge of mine owne conscience, as to the instruction of other."

This recantation [4] of the archbishop was not so soone

[4] *This recantation.*] "Other historians speak of this archbishop's recantation, which he made upon the incessant solicitations and temptations of the popish zealots at Oxford. Which unworthy compliance he was at last prevailed with to submit to, partly by the flattery and terror suggested to him, and partly by the hardship of his own straight imprisonment in Bocardo. Our writers mention only one recantation: and that Fox hath set down; wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect relation of this good man's frailty: I shall therefore endeavour to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings to which Cranmer subscribed one after another; for after the unhappy bishop by over persuasion, wrote one paper with his subscription set to it; which he thought to pen so favourably, and dexterously for himself, that he might evade both the danger from the state, and the danger of his conscience too; that would not serve, but another was required as explanatory of that. And when he had complied with that, yet either because writ too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve, but drew on a third fuller and more expressive than the former: nor could he escape so; but still a fourth and fifth paper of recantation was demanded of him to be more large and particular. Nay, and lastly, a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own books, and a vilifying of himself as a persecutor, a blasphemer, and a mischief-maker; nay and as the wickedest wretch that lived. And this was not all, but after they had thus humbled and mortified the miserable man with recantations, subscriptions, submissions, and abjurations, putting words into his mouth which his heart abhorred; by all this

soone conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set

this drudgery they would not permit him to redeem his unhappy life; but prepared him a renunciatory oration to pronounce publickly in Saint Mary's church immediately before he was led forth to burning.

But here he gave his enemies, insatiable in their reproaches of him, a notable disappointment. They verily thought that when they had brought him thus far, he would still have said as they would have him. But herein their politicks failed them; and by this last stretch of the cord all was undone, which they with so much art and labour had effected before. For the reverend man began indeed his speech according to their appointment and pleasure; but in the process of it, at that very cue when he was to own the pope and his superstitions, and to revoke his own book and doctrine of the sacrament, (which was to be brought in by this preface, that *one thing above all the rest troubled his conscience beyond all that ever he did in his life*) he on the contrary to their great astonishment and vexation made that preface serve to his revocation and abhorrence of his former extorted subscriptions, and to his free owning and standing to his book wrote against transubstantiation, and the avowing the evangelical doctrines he had before taught." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 232.

Notwithstanding all the researches of the historians, it cannot, I think, be denied, that this part of Cranmer's story is still involved in great obscurity and uncertainty. That he made a submission and recantation cannot be doubted; but I own, I know not how to reconcile the six several submissions, and the nature of them, their dates, &c. with other circumstances of the narrative. We are not told the precise period at which he was removed to the lodgings of the dean of Christ Church, and plied with the several topics, and arts of seduction, enumerated in Fox. But let it be observed, the 14th of February was the day of his degradation, at which time, surely the archbishop's behaviour gave no warnings of his lamentable fall: and yet the *fourth* submission, as published by Bonner, (and it should seem, that they are ranged *chronologically*) is dated on the 16th of the same month, only two days after. There are other very suspicious circumstances accompanying Bonner's publication. But the above remark, I think, is alone sufficient to shew, that this part of the narrative requires further elucidation.

abroad

abroad in all mens hands. Wherunto, for better credite, was first added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemne subscription, then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydall, and frier John De Villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in no certain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors: but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen having now gotten a time to revenge her old greefe, receiyed his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent.

Now was Cranmers cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietnes in his owne conscience, nor yet outwardly any helpe in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was prayse, on the other side scorne, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet unhonestly live. And whereas he sought profite, hee fell into double disprofite, that neither with good men hee could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evill men the note of dissimulation.

In the meane time, while these things were a doeing (as I said) in the prison amongst the doctors, the queene taking secret counsell, how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing lesse than death) appointed doctor Cole, and secretly gave him in commandement, that against the 21. of March, hee should prepare a funerall sermon for Cranmers burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalfe, sendeth him away.

Soone

Soon after, the lord Williams of Tame, and the L. Shandoys, sir Thomas Bridges, and sir John Browne were sent for, with other worshipfull men and justices, commaunded in the queenes name, to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servantes and retinue, least Cranmers death should raise there any tumult.

Cole the doctor having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandement, returned to Oxford, readie to play his part, who as the day of execution drewe neer, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to trie whether he abode in the catholike faith wherein before hee had lefte him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by Gods grace he would dayly be more confirmed in the catholick faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop againe, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared: and therefore in the morning, which was the 21. day of March, appointed for Cranmers execution, the said Cole comming to him, asked if he hadde any money. To whom when hee answered that he had none, hee delivered him fifteene crownes to give the poore, to whom he would: and so exhorting him so much as hee could to constancie in faith, departed thence about his busines, as to his sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because the day was not farre past, and the lords and knights that were looked for, were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish frier, witnesse of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly professe in his recantation be-

fore the people, earnestly desiring him that hee would write the said instrument with the articles with his own hand, and signe it with his name: which when he had done, the sayd frier desired that he would write another copy thereof, which should remaine with him, and that he did also. But yet the archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devises tended, and thinking that the time was at hand, in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christs people, he put secretly in his bosome his prayer, with his exhortation, written in another paper, which hee minded to recite to the people, before hee should make the last profession of his faith, fearing least if they hadde heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soone after about nine of the clocke, the lord Williams, sir Thomas Bridges, sir John Browne, and the other justices, with certaine other noble menne, that were sent of the queenes councell, came to Oxford with a great traine of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on everie side (as is woont in such a matter) was made a great concourse and greater expectation. For first of all, they that were of the popes side, were in great hope that day to heare something of Cranmer that should stablish the vanitie of their opinion: the other part which were endued with a better minde, could not yet doubt, that he which by continuall studie and labour, for so many yeares had set forth the doctrine of the gospell, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Brieflie, as every mans will enclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversitie of their desires, every man wished and hoped for

for. And yet because in an uncertaine thing the certaintie could be knowne of none what would be the end, all their mindes were hanging betweene hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtfull a matter, the more was the multitude, that were gathered thither to heare and behold.

In this so great frequencie and expectation, Cranmer at the length commeth from prison Bocardo, unto saint Maries church, because it was a foule and rainie day, the chiefe church in the universitie, in this order. The maior went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree, after them was Cranmer brought betweene two friers, which mumbling to and fro certaine psalmes in the streetes, answered one another untill they came to the church doore, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc Dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalm saying friers brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting untill Cole made him readie to his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all christian eies that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitane, and primate of England, and the kings privie counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gowne, and ill favouredlie cloathed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not onelie of his owne calamitie, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pittie his case, and bewaile his fortune, and might not feare his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellour, and of so long continued honour, after so manie dignities, in his old

yeares to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painefull a death to end his life, and nowe presentlie from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparell?

In this habite, when hee had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a piller neere adjoyning thereunto, hee lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, til at the length doctor Cole comming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zacharie. Whome after hee hadde praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three partes (according to the solemne custome of the schooles) intending to speake first of the mercie of God, secondlie of his justice to be shewed, and last of all, how the princes secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turne his tale to Cranmer, and with manie hot words reprooved him, that once he being indued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholike doctrine, fell into the contrarie opinion of pernicious error, which hee hadde not onelie defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to doe the like, with great liberalitie of giftes, as it were, appointing rewards for errour; and after hee had allured them, by all meanes did cherish them.

It were too long to repeate all thinges, that in long order were pronounced. The summe of his tripartite declamation was, that he said Gods mercie was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to goe unpunished, yea though they had repented. As in David, who when

when he was bidden choose of three kinds of punishments which hee would, and he had chosen pestilence for three daies, the Lord forgave him halfe the time, dut did not release all. And that the same thing came to passe in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, seeing he repented him of his errours, yet there were causes why the queene and the councell at this time judged him to death: of which, least he should marvell too much, he should heare some.

First that being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawfull matrimonie between the king her father and mother: besides the driving out of the popes authoritie, while hee was metropolitane.

Secondly, that he had been an heretick, from whom as from an author and onely fountaine, all hereticall doctrine and schismaticall opinions that so many yeeres have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring: of which he had not been a secret favourer onely, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the catholicke church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equalitie, that as the death of the duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Thomas More chauncellour that died for the church, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher of Rochester: and because that Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, were not able to make even that man, it seemed, that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up this part of equalitie.

Besides these, there were other just and waightie causes, which seemed to the queene and the councell,

cell, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this mans example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise it selfe safetie on the earth, and that Gods vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none: therefore they should beware and learne to feare their prince. And seeing the queenes majestie would not spare so notable a man as this, much lesse in the like cause shee would spare other men, that no man should thinke to make thereby any defence of his errour, either in riches or any kinde of authoritie. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamitie every man might consider his owne fortune: who from the top of dignitie, none being more honorable than he in the whole realme, and next the king, was fallen into so great miserie, as they might now see, being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the church, and an archbishop, the chiefe of the councell, the second person in the realme of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a king on his side: notwithstanding all his authoritie and defence to be debased from high estate, to a low degree, of a counsellour to become a caitiffe, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him: briefely, so heaped with miserie on all sides, that neyther was left in him any hope of better fortune: nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon, hee converted to the archbishop: whome hee comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of scripture, as with these and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but hee should incontinentlie

receive

receive that the thiefe did, to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*; that is, This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. And out of S. Paule he armed him against the terrour of the fire by this, *Dominus fidelis est, non sinet vos tentari ultra quam fere potestis*; that is, the Lord is faithfull, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength; by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seeme like a pleasant dewe; adding also the rejoicing of S. Andrew in his crosse, the patience of S. Laurence on the fire, assuring him, that God, if hee called on him, and to such as die in his faith, eyther would abate the furie of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to bee onely his worke, declaring what travell and conference had beene with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaime him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgement and talke of him, that while the time (saide he) hee flowed in riches and honour, hee was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But least he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligentlie labour (hee sayd), and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death, there should be diriges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soule.

Cranmer in all this meane time, with what great griefe of minde he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shewes of his bodie and countenance did better expresse, than any man can declare: one while

while lifting up his hands and eies unto heaven, and then againe for shame letting them downe to the earth. A man might have seene the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twentie severall times the tears gushed out aboundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present, doe testifie that they never sawe in any childe more teares, than brast out from him at that time, all the sermon while: but specially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pitty mooved all mens harts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such aboundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after hee had ended his sermon, called backe the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. "Brethren," (sayde hee) "least any man should doubt of this mans earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speake before you, and therefore I pray you maister Cranmer, that you will now performe that you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly expresse the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion of men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholicke indeed." I will doe it (said the archbishop), "and that with a good will:" who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speake thus unto the people.

"I desire you well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for mee, to forgive me my sinnes, which above all men, both in number and greatnesse, I have committed: But among all the reſt, there is one offence, which most of all at this time doth vexe and trouble me, whereof in processe of my talke you shall heare more

more in his proper place;" and then putting his hand into his bosome, hee drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in this sense.

The Prayer of Doctour Cranmer Archbishop.

"Good christain people, my dearely beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many, without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing greeveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof God willing, I entend to speake more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sinnes be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here, kneeling down, he said:

"O Father of heaven, O Sonne of God Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitife and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can expresse. Whither then may I go, or whither should I flye? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I finde no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore (O Lord) doe I runne: to thee doe I humble my selfe, saying, O Lord my God, my sinnes bee great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mysterie that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy sonne (O heavenly Father) unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sinnes of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole hart, as I do here at this present.

Wherfore have mercy on me O God, whose property is alwaies to have mercy, have mercy upon me O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for my own merits, but for thy Names sake, that it may bee hallowed thereby, and for thy deare Sonne, Jesus Christes sake. And now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c." And then he rising, said:

"Everie man (good people) desireth at the time of their death to give some good exhortation that other may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God graunt mee grace, that I may speake something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, it is an heavie case to see that so many folke be so much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seeme to care verie little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not your mindes overmuch upon this glosing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which S. John teacheth, *that the love of this world is hatred against God.*

"The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queene willinglie and gladlie, without murmuring or grudging; not for feare of them onelie, but much more for the feare of God: knowing that they bee Gods ministers, appointed by God to rule and governe you: and therefore who soever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas, pittie it is to see what contention and hatred one christian

man

man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortall enemies. But I pray you learne and beare well away this one lesson: to doe good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your owne naturall loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about malitiouslye to hinder or hurt him, surelie and without all doubt God is not with that man, although hee thinke himselfe never so much in Gods favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himselfe, who saith, *It is hard for a rich man to enter in to the kingdom of heaven.* A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth. The second is of S. John, whose saying is this: *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that hee loveth God?* The third is of S. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this maner: *Weepe you and houle for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches doe rotte, your cloathes be moth eaten, your golde and silver doth canker and ruste, and their rust shal beare witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treasure of Gods indignation against the last day.* Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poore people being so many, and victuals so deere[4].

"And

[4] *Victuals so deere.*] "These two years since king Edwardes death, the earth hath not brought furthe such plentie, as it customably

" And now for as much as I am come to the last ende of my life, wherupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in paine for ever, with wicked divels in hell, and I see before mine eies presently either heaven readie to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therfore declare unto you my very faith how I beleeve, without any colour or dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have saide or written in time past.

customably did before. And where before time the countrey fedde London, London contrary wise was and is forced of her former provision to fede the countrie. And where Dantiske and other the north east partes were the barnes and garners of corne, for they had the provision of corne for many yeares before-hand, and nourished all the lowe parts of Germanie, Denmarke, Frieslande, Holande, Zelande, Brabaunt, Flanders, Hispaine, and many other; now by reason of their bringing so muche to releve Englande, onles a staie be made in time, they themselves will perishe of famine. And whan were ever thinges so deare in Englande, as in this time of the popish masse and other idolatrie restored? And who ever heard or redde before, that a pounde of beefe was at fourpence; a sheepe twenty shillings; a pounde of candelles at four-pence; a pounde of buttur at four-pence; a pounde of chese at four-pence; two egges a penie; a quarter of wheat sixty four shillings: a quarter of malt at fifty shillings or above; the people driven of hongre to grinde accornes for bread meale, and to drink water in stede of ale? And what? shall this famine awaie before his walking mate and felowe, pestilence, come? No surely. Without your earnest spedy repentaunce, and Goddes exceding miraculous mercie it is not possible." *Treatise* (*Ponet's*) *of Politic Power*. Signat. K 7—8. A. D. 1556.

" The scarcity in Oxford was so great, that several societies, being scarce able to live, had leave from their governors to go into the country to their respective homes, to remain there till such time that bread-corn was more plentiful." A Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 130, edit. 1796. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 392, and *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 311. 320, 321.

" First,

" First, I believe in God the Father Almightie, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I beleeve every article of the catholicke faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the new and olde Testament.

" And now I come to the great thing, that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or sayde in my whole life, and this is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the trueth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the trueth which I thought in my hart, and written for feare of deathe, and to save my life if it might bee, and that is, all such billes and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And for asmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first bee punished therefore: for may I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

" And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christs enemie and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

" And as for the sacrament, I beleeve as I have taught in my booke against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement of God, where the papisticall doctrine contrarie thereto, shall be ashamed to shewe her face."

Here the standers by were all astonied, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation hee had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falshood. Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I thinke there was never crueltie more notablie

notablie or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victorie, and a perpetuall triumph by this mans recantation. Who assoon as they heard these things, began to let downe their cares, to rage, fret, and fume: and so much the more, because they could not revenge their griefe: for they could nowe no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of necessitie hee must needs dy that day, though the papists had bin never so well pleased; now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twise killed of them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet least they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falshood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered: "Ah my masters," quoth he, "doe not you take it so. Alwaies since I lived hitherto, I have beene a hater of falshood, and a lover of simplicitie, and never before this time have I dissembled:" and in saying this, all the teares that remained in his body, appeared in his eies. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacie, some of them began to crie out, yalpe, and baule, and specially Cole cried out upon him? "stop the heretickes mouth, and take him away."

And then Cranmer being pulled downe from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friers vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madnesse," say they, "hath brought thee againe into this error, by which thou wilt drawe innumerable soules with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talke to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his booke

booke diligently, saying if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more, he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, alwaies having this in his mouth, "*Non fecisti?* Did thou it not?"

But when he came to the place, where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer, and Ridley, were burnt before him, for the confessing of the truth, kneeling downe hee prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long down to his feete. His feete were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seene upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Suche a countenance of gravitie moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vaine and loste labour: Cranmer with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certaine old men, and other that stoode by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretikes, and specially such a one as falsly returned unto the opinions that he had forsworne. And if he had knowne before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly; and chid those sergeants and citizens, which had not refused to give him their hands. This

Ely

Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellowes of Brazen Nose.

Then was an iron chaine tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more steadfast, then that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn neere him, stretching out his arme, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immoveable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancie and stedfastnesse, that standing alwaies in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound: his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and often times he repeated his "*unworthy right hand*," so long as his voyce would suffer him: and using often the wordes of Steven, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*; in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of minde, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when frier John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of the like constancie, have been common here in England, ran to the lord Williams of Tame, crying that the archbishop was vexed in minde, and died in great desperation. But he, which was not ignorant of the archbishops constancie, being unknowne to the Spaniards, smiled only (and as it were) by silence rebuked the friars folly.

And

And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest hee should have lived longer with shame and reproofe, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name, and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man, with this crosse of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert, and doctor Allen, or if there were any other with whose burning and blood his handes had beene before any thing polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered among Christ's martyrs, much more worthy the name of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falsly before did canonize.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Printed by Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

00110816

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 28 September, 2015